00020632

THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Ms.Vaidehi Thakar
on 06 November, 2019

ARNOLD OF RUGBY.

J. J. FINDLAY.

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.
Glasgow: 263, ARGYLE STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

ARNOLD OF RUGBY:

HIS SCHOOL LIFE AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION

EDITED BY

J. J. FINDLAY, M.A.

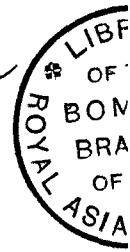
LATE SCHOLAR OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD;
PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE OF PRECEPTORS TRAINING COLLEGE.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

20632
XX-K.10-2



CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1897

[*All Rights reserved.*]

923.742
Fin/Arn.
20632

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
	INTRODUCTION	xv
PART I.	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE, WITH 'LIFE AT LALEHAM' (FROM STANLEY'S LIFE OF DR ARNOLD, CHAPTER II.) AND EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS .	1
PART II.	SCHOOL LIFE AT RUGBY: (STANLEY'S LIFE OF DR ARNOLD, CHAPTER III.)	44
PART III.	SELECTED SERMONS PREACHED CHIEFLY IN RUGBY CHAPEL	122
PART IV.	ESSAYS ON EDUCATIONAL TOPICS (FROM THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF THOMAS ARNOLD)	198
PART V.	BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELATING TO ARNOLD'S INFLUENCE AS A TEACHER, AND TO PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION BEFORE AND AFTER HIS TIME	236
	ANALYTICAL INDEX: ARRANGED IN ORDER OF SUBJECTS	253

PREFACE.

MORE than fifty years have now gone by since Rugby and England were left poorer by the death of Thomas Arnold; his lifetime was largely spent in warfare, and after his death, although many praised him, some held that he was overpraised. But now at the close of the century on which he has left his impress, we are not likely to err in regarding the common opinion of the world as likely to be accepted as the verdict of posterity.

I have taken some trouble to seek a formulation of this verdict from various quarters and I gather that the final value to be set on Arnold's life is in the example of a thoroughly righteous man, a picture of sincerity and truth; a man also who was not content to be righteous for himself, but was inflamed with zeal in the cause of righteousness.

This, of course, was not all, and herein he was not alone; happily for his age, many others in less exalted station exhibited the same saving quality; but it was this energetic untiring devotion to an ideal that touched with new life the various fields of activity to which he was called. Let it be admitted that some of Arnold's opinions were erroneous, or that he lacked the signs of original genius, the fact remains that his moral insight, aided by the school of culture and refinement in which he was trained, made this schoolmaster during some twelve years a power of the first order in three very different directions—in the Church, in Historical Research, and in Education. If to him the ordinary span of life

had been permitted, what might not have been achieved by a man so gifted and so placed! His biography has done much; surely his life would have done much more for the country he so passionately loved.

The present volume is concerned solely with Arnold's work for Education. It is only recently that we have commenced in this country to make a serious study of the science of Education, and if this study is to be worthy of the name of 'science,' it must surely commence by collecting materials; by gathering what is best in the experience of earlier times and presenting it in a form most suitable for further treatment.

At the first glance it might be supposed that such a task was superfluous in the case of Arnold, for Stanley's *Life* is on every bookshelf, and Arnold's own writings are accessible in the libraries: most of them indeed are still on sale. I have found, however, that something more is needed—the fact that Arnold's energies covered so wide a field makes it difficult for the teacher to select therefrom that portion which will serve his purpose, and, as a matter of fact, Arnold seems to be known among many teachers rather by tradition than by exact information. It is true that in *Tom Brown's School Days* we have a portrayal of the great Headmaster, which has made Rugby a familiar name to thousands who have never read further, and I need hardly add that the work of Thomas Hughes should be read as a commentary on the contents of this volume; but the commentary cannot serve as a substitute for the original; the student who seeks to investigate principles of Education is to some extent hindered by the local colour and environment of a school society so different from that of the present day. In this case certainly, 'the disciple,' so recently lost to Rugby, would not have desired to be 'above his master.'

I have ventured to say that Arnold's educational doctrines seem to be only vaguely understood by the present generation of teachers. The assertion may be disputed by University

men who are associated with the Public Schools, but these are too apt to forget that the work of education covers a much wider area than the field in which Arnold was engaged. He himself recognized the need for a broader outlook, for the extension of sound educational doctrine in all classes of schools, and in the work of two of his sons[1] and of his son-in-law[2], we trace the father's spirit. The present volume aims therefore not only to renew among Public School men the memory of a great leader, but to extend the range of his influence both among teachers and laymen who are engaged in the educational revival which we are witnessing in England just now. At a time when the chief motive for the promotion of education is alleged to have its source in commercial rivalry, it is surely as needful as in earlier days to assert that the aims of true teachers take a higher range and can strike deeper chords in English life.

In making the selection which follows my task has been a simple one, for Arnold was rather a worker than a thinker in the field of Education; only once or twice did he deem it necessary to deal of set purpose with the principles which guided his rule at Rugby, and then rather by way of reply to the attacks of assailants. While we may regret that those contributions were so scanty, we must recognize that his example is of value to those who study Education. For the practice of our art cannot be acquired from books, nor can the science be promoted very much by the written word; it is only by familiar association at first hand with children, in the charge of wise teachers, that students can witness the application of doctrine to life; those only can be said to know Arnold who are able to interpret his words by their own experiences with children, or by contact with teachers who have imbibed the Arnoldian tradition. While, therefore, I esteem it a

[1] See pp. 243 and 247 below.

[2] The late W. E. Forster, author of *The Education Act of* 1870, which set on foot our present system of public Primary Education.

privilege to edit the chapters which follow, I am anxious not to exaggerate their value: if their contents are acquired by students apart from genuine 'practice' they will prove of little service. This note of warning is perhaps not out of place at the present moment when the teaching profession is beginning to admit its need of 'theory.' Arnold's influence should help us much in formulating our science of education; let us hope that it will not be confined to the examination papers for professional diplomas.

One half of the volume is selected from Stanley's *Life*. Chapter III. is taken in its entirety and deserves to have a place apart in such a work as this, for it gives a sketch of pedagogic effort which is unique in our literature. The extracts from letters have been confined within the smallest limits: only those have been chosen which seem to add something new to the record of Arnold's views. I expect that readers will have Stanley's *Life* at hand, for it is now reprinted at a nominal price, and the references given at the head of each extract will enable students to turn to the original at once, if they desire to pursue any topic in further detail.

In making the selection from the six volumes of the Sermons, I have sought only for those which would serve the purpose of this book: Arnold's doctrinal views are, of course, interwoven with his conceptions of the moral aims of Education on every page, but it has been possible to select a number of addresses in which his views on educational topics are specially exhibited. This portion of the volume might have been enlarged by adding much that is worthy of being reprinted, but what is offered will serve the present purpose, for the reader will gather a clear impression of the style of address, and the main ideas which permeated the preacher's mind are here represented without much reiteration.

By way of an index, I have prepared an analysis of these ideas, including of course the selections from Stanley, and have arranged them according to topics. I hope that this analysis

may be of use to students in consulting the volume for the purpose of reference.

Without transgressing the province of an editor, it may be of advantage to add a few words in order to indicate the special directions in which Arnold's teaching contributes to our understanding of education problems. This is the more necessary, because, although his interests were wide, his main energies were directed in a few channels.

I take it that the multitude of topics embraced in the study of Education fall into three main divisions[1]. Firstly we investigate the nature of Education:—our conception of what can or should be achieved by school and teacher. The inquiry cannot be answered off-hand by a superficial definition, based upon a superficial psychology; on the contrary, it compels us to turn to the deep moral issues of human life in which all the social sciences seek their foundation; it raises questions of transcendent importance which every age seems to answer in a different spirit. Arnold's answer, for his age and country, was uttered in no uncertain voice: to him the world of morality and religion was the real world, and the aim, in his theory of Education, could be expressed only in the loftiest terms.

Here, on the threshold of educational science, we cannot dispense either with Arnold in England or with his contemporary Herbart in Germany, and I venture to assert that if the views of these two great teachers had been studied by English writers on education during the past thirty years, our doctrines of Education would have assumed a very different aspect.

I do not desire to ignore the fundamental difficulty attaching to this inquiry:—a difficulty which presents itself in every page of Arnold:—that of the relation of religion to education. Arnold's own conviction, resolutely asserted and maintained, solved the problem in his own sphere, but it is impossible to present his views as a permanent solution of the great

[1] See p. 253 below.

controversy which to-day perplexes public men in every department of education; here if anywhere the changing currents of faith and party will modify our conceptions of the teacher's office. But much may be learned by accurately observing the attitude of Arnold, even by those who would sympathize but little with his religious convictions, nor can we claim to measure the strength of the conflicting forces in the struggle which is waged about us to-day, unless we search for their beginnings in the days of our fathers. Not many will now be found who would follow Arnold in desiring all Public School men to take Holy Orders, but can we afford to ignore the moral earnestness which inspired this desire?

The next division of Education is concerned with Administration. The care of children is a social duty; in its simplest form it involves relations between parent, teacher and child;—and to these are added the claims of the Church and of local and central authorities in the State. Now in this direction Arnold's contribution is necessarily small, for his interests were limited mainly to Rugby; the problems of Administration have been left for solution to the present generation. The few questions with which he was immediately concerned—such as that of the relation of a Head-master to his Governing Body and to his pupils, are treated by him in a sufficiently decisive fashion, but he spoke and acted for his own age and his own order.

Finally, we have a third division in the Practice, or Conduct of Education; the task assigned to the teacher in charge of his pupil or his school. We have to investigate the nature of the child—and of children in the society of school; the influence which the teacher can exert either directly in government and personal guidance of the child's character, or indirectly by means of branches of teaching.

Now, Arnold's outlook as a teacher and as a Head-master ranged over the entire field, and we can recognize the value of his liberal methods in more than one department of teaching. But if we seek to bring into relief the main principles which give

him an enduring fame as a teacher, they will be found, not in his views as to the use of the Classics or as to the need of a more extended scheme of studies, but in his exposition of *government and guidance in the corporate society of school.*

It has often been said that Arnold was not a reformer; that he took the public school system as he found it and simply sought to regenerate it by infusing teachers and pupils with a new spirit. This is partly true; he himself took his stand upon the old order of things, and sought to restrain his temper of restless activity by a regard for all that was good in school tradition. Nevertheless he was much more than this: he was a *thinker*; he offers us, in his sermons and other writings, an exposition of principles:—of ideas relating to the nature of boys when associated in a school; and to the forces by which the teacher can influence this society for good. These principles indeed are not formulated in pedagogic form, but they do not suffer on that account.

It is in this department of the theory of Education, that Arnold's permanent contribution will be found. Many other Public School masters before and after his time have worked in the same cause, but none have so set their mark upon the work, and no one has expounded the system as clearly as himself, and his biographer. Since his day, new conceptions of education and of teaching have become popular—conceptions which would limit the function of the school to the attainment of knowledge or of manual skill, confusing the office of the teacher with that of an instructor. Against all such doctrine Arnold asserts an eloquent *Non possumus.* The boy is a moral being and the school is a human society; the teacher moving in and out of this society is required not only to train the intelligence and inform the mind, but to touch the springs of character. First of all, as we have seen, in his conception of the aim of education, he declares the teacher's duty, and now, in his exposition of practice, we observe how he laboured to discharge it.

Once more, may I add, I do not offer Arnold's principles or methods as final or beyond criticism. The ardour of an apostle may sometimes have led him to expect more from boys than boy-nature can achieve; the struggle 'to anticipate the period of manhood' doubtless sometimes developed a precocity, which incurred subtle moral danger of its own; but, after fifty years, we are not likely to be infected by the enthusiasm of those who came under the charm of his daily influence. His work abides, here in his writings and everywhere among teachers who have learnt from him and his successors to cherish what is best in the practice of the English Public Schools.

Since Arnold's day these schools have risen high in the estimation of the nation—in reputation, in wealth and all material prosperity; their real worth remains, now as before, in their power to renew in each new generation the character of "moral thoughtfulness" which Arnold of Rugby both preached and practised.

One word to express my obligation to the Bishop of Hereford for his contribution of an Introduction. Many readers of this volume, not only in the Public Schools but in our Universities and University Colleges, are aware of the part that he has played in leavening a new generation of teachers and of schools with the spirit of Thomas Arnold.

J. J. FINDLAY.

THE COLLEGE OF PRECEPTORS,
January 19, 1897.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD, FORMERLY HEAD-MASTER OF RUGBY.

AFTER reading the Editor's Preface to this book I should have felt that in adding another introductory chapter I am engaged in a work of supererogation had I not learnt from my experience as a schoolmaster the truth of the proverb—*bis repetita docent.*

The book deals with Dr Arnold as a Schoolmaster, but the subject of it must be taken to be the whole man, because his character is in a very peculiar sense one of those which cannot be profitably studied or rightly appreciated except as a whole. He was a man endowed with characteristics and imbued with a spirit that permeate and dominate every department of his activity and conduct, giving to all alike the same special colour and tone.

It is by virtue of great qualities and an intensity and ardour of spirit which would have made him great in any sphere, that he was a great teacher.

Consequently his real position is not so much that of a schoolmaster as of a prophet among schoolmasters, a man whose special mission it was to unveil and interpret the higher possibilities, responsibilities, and duties of the schoolmaster's life.

Through the intensity of his moral and spiritual feeling and

his "radiant vigour" he vitalised ideas of which weaker men had been but dimly conscious, or which they had merely carried about with them as inert or pious opinions.

Thus the value of his example to all teachers is to be sought in his unconventional attitude of mind, his striving for reality, his desire to improve upon what has been already attained, his high moral aim, his intense religious purpose, his sense of the responsibility undertaken by every trainer of young lives, and his magnetic and inspiring personality. In one word it is that influence of the prophet which is the salt of society in every age.

However much we may admire him for what he did, our study always brings us round to the conviction that his best gift to all schoolmasters of every succeeding generation is the gift of his own life and spirit, just as

> "The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
> Is to have been a hero";

and thus

> "To leave his spirit in his children's breasts."

We do not think of Arnold as a great instructor like his pupil and colleague Bonamy Price, whose lessons in the Form below the Sixth, known as the Twenty, were the marvel of the boys who heard them, and are still the talk of some aged Rugbeians.

He was not a teacher of the professorial or didactic type, although he would undoubtedly have proved a Professor of great power in Oxford had his life been prolonged. His aim as a teacher seems rather to have been to stimulate thoughtful habit by means of Socratic questions, to rouse interest by historical illustrations and parallels, and above all to awaken and to strengthen moral and religious purpose and aspiration.

We have also to bear in mind that he was not a philosophical reformer of education, his mind being of that distinctly

practical and essentially English type which seems to take little delight in abstract speculation, or philosophical views of life, or in psychological analysis as the basis of action.

Neither did his mind travel habitually over a wide field of interests. As is found to be the case with many strong characters, his sympathies and tastes ran with the force of a mountain torrent in a few distinctly marked channels, and left large tracts of life almost untouched, in this respect somewhat resembling that of his great admirer Professor Freeman.

Thus in his letters, or diaries, or other writings, we can trace little or no direct influence of the fine arts, or of physical science.

Even in his Italian travels he almost ignores the former, while the latter evidently stirs in him a feeling of antipathy or dislike, although he considers that all boys should be given a rudimentary knowledge of its principles.

In his letters from abroad we see how he is attracted and engrossed by historical associations, or beauty of landscape, while the treasures of art make little impression on his mind; and with regard to science he has left on record this vigorous expression of his feeling:—"Physical science, if studied at all, seems too great to be studied ἐν παρέργῳ, wherefore, rather than have it the principal thing in my son's mind, I would gladly have him think that the sun went round the earth, and that the stars were so many spangles set in the bright blue firmament. Surely the one thing needful for a Christian and an Englishman to study is Christian and moral and political philosophy."

His attitude towards physical science would thus seem to be primarily due to his Christian idealism, and his fear of the materialistic tendency of scientific study.

In almost any other man we might have been tempted to attribute it in some degree to his school and university training, as the prevalent feeling in our public schools and ancient

universities towards this new learning of the nineteenth century was till quite lately, even if it be now extinct, a feeling of contemptuous dislike, some asserting with much truth the superiority of classical studies in their wider and higher sense, as embracing all the art, literature, thought, and politics of Greece and Rome, while others simply took their stand upon the superiority of the ancient ways.

But to whatever causes we may attribute these characteristic limitations of Arnold's tastes and sympathies, they are in no way surprising.

He was living in an atmosphere which had become highly charged with the electric forces of moral, political, and theological change, and his impressible and fervid temperament was possessed and permeated by this spirit of his time.

Moreover, as regards education, he belonged to a generation of Englishmen who, within university circles at all events, were not yet touched by such questions as the scientific study of educational methods and of the art of teaching.

These had not laid hold upon his imagination and thought, and the actual reforms or new ideas which he impressed on school life are chiefly those suggested by his own moral earnestness and religious enthusiasm, and they have special reference to the formation of character and conduct of life, rather than the attainment of knowledge.

And even in regard to these aspects of education he does not seem to have given special attention to the subject of environment or the conditions of daily life.

Thus on two of the most fundamental of all the practical questions concerning school education—the relative merits of the day-school and the boarding-school, and the best construction and arrangement of boarding-houses with reference to really wholesome conditions for boarding-school life,—we do not gain much assistance from him.

His boarding-houses at Rugby grew up with the increase

in the numbers of the school, apparently without directing his mind to consider how far the traditional arrangements were such as to maintain and strengthen those higher influences which he rightly held to be the distinguishing characteristic of a Christian school, or were such as to prevent or lessen those evils which he denounced so unsparingly and laboured so indefatigably to eradicate from schoolboy life.

It was left for later generations to test by experiment the right solution of such problems as the best construction of boarding-houses in regard to sleeping arrangements, and of studies for daily use, the best mode of securing simplicity of taste and habit without roughness or loss of refinement, and the advantage of making Laboratories and Workshops largely and freely accessible, and quiet Libraries always accessible to boys during their hours of freedom both in the daytime and in the evening, so that those who desire, as many boys do, to pursue and cultivate some intellectual or practical taste, during their hours of leisure, may have full opportunity for doing so, undisturbed.

Similarly on the comparative advantages of the boarding-school and the day-school he had no special leading to offer, although he would probably have agreed that the nearest approach to an ideal type of education is that which combines life in a good Christian home with all the organisation and discipline of a well managed public school, so that a boy is at once an inmate of his own home with all its refining and humanising associations and in the full enjoyment of all the intellectual and social training of public school life.

Under such a system, organised and developed as it now is in Clifton College and other such schools largely attended by day-boys, Dr Arnold would have recognised that boys escape some of the most serious risks of the artificial barrack life of the boarding-school, whilst they secure that training in social duty and responsibility which is too often lacking in the ordinary unorganised day-school, and is one of the best

characteristics of our great boarding-schools, helping, as it does, to make their pupils good and patriotic citizens, self-reliant, sociable, and public-spirited.

But to return to our special indebtedness to this singularly gifted man. As we reflect upon it he rises before us like an inspired prophet, preaching to every schoolmaster the sacredness of his calling, and bidding him always remember that formation of character is the primary aim of every good teacher, that it is the duty of the teacher to hasten growth out of the immature and dangerous period of boyhood, and that to do this we should give direct responsibility for the moral conduct and the honour of the whole school to those members of it who are the ablest and most advanced, thus instilling from early years the Christian principle of service as the guiding rule of life; and finally that for these ends the schoolmaster's ideal aim must always be to cultivate in his pupils the habit of moral thoughtfulness, and the conviction that life in Christ is the true goal of all human endeavour.

His aim was very finely summed up by Dr Martineau in the most interesting and suggestive of all the appreciations of Arnold's influence which followed the publication of Stanley's *Life*, when he wrote that Arnold's theory of his office as Headmaster of Rugby might be stated thus:—"The peculiar character of the *English gentleman* being assumed as an historical datum, the aim of education should be to penetrate and pervade this with a spirit of Christian self-regulation.

"He was aware how great was the revolution implied in the accomplishment of this end; that moral heroism must take the place of feudal independence; devout allegiance, of personal self-will; respect for faithful work, of the ambition for careless idleness; manly simplicity and earnestness, of gentlemanly *poco-curanteism*; the true shame for evil, of the false shame for good; that contempt of pleasure must be added to the contempt of danger and of pain: and courage to defy corrupt

fashion and opinion, to the hardihood which resists the aggressions of unjust authority."

Some readers of this book, looking over the field of English education more than fifty years after Arnold's death, and noting the influences that seem to prevail in it, may be inclined to ask how far Arnold succeeded; but it would be almost as pertinent to enquire about the success of Isaiah or Ezekiel. Arnold infused a new element into the atmosphere of English education, an element of untold influence to purify and to stimulate.

This permeating force, acting all over this whole round world, may be fitly illustrated by the following words of one of the best and most highly distinguished of all the great army of lay schoolmasters who have been inspired by Arnold to feel that there is a true consecration in their work and that their profession is in a real and true sense a Christian calling:—"I often feel it," writes this Rugby master, "as a kind of reproach that I am not more distinctly and directly stimulated and inspired by the thought of teaching in the place where Arnold taught.

"I repeat to myself 'There thou dost lie, in the gloom of the autumn evening,' and yet it is perhaps the earnestness and sincerity of the poem that stirs me more than the memory of the great teacher.

"But then I console myself with thinking that, consciously or unconsciously, we are all of us influenced by him, and very powerfully, every day.

"Whether we, at Rugby, are thus more deeply affected than other schools I do not know.

"It is a much grander and more inspiring thought that all English schools equally exhibit the power of his influence in proportion as they are good schools; and that all, in proportion as they are doing good work, are working with his ideas and on his lines, whether consciously or not.

"And even consciously there are amongst us, as doubtless in many another school in all English-speaking countries, boys and masters of imagination, who feel his presence, so that in many ways he enters as a factor into the atmosphere of the place, and thus still 'performs the word of the Spirit in whom he lives,' helping to make our air a wholesome air, permeated by good influences—*αὖραι φέρουσαι ἀπὸ χρηστῶν τόπων ὑγίειαν.*"

This influence, as it has been said again and again, culminated in the school chapel, and the strangely fascinating and fermenting power of it has never been more vividly or beautifully described than in that essay to which I have already referred, in which Dr Martineau thus expressed himself in the year 1845, twelve years before Matthew Arnold wrote his famous poem :—

"At this moment, no poem, no biography, actual or possible, occurs to us, which we had rather read than the secret spirit history of that chapel.

"The many coloured thoughts, evanescent, it may be, but not traceless, of those young hearts; the dark, obdurate will, struck by the sudden flash, then closing sullenly again; the light, unstable mind, fluttered with momentary shame; the first sense of lost innocence, awakening the sorrowful images of too happy sisters, and mother with no reproaches on her face; the manly pity for a younger brother newly come, and high resolves, were it only for his sake; the eager outlook into life, deep in its early flush of glory; the opening awe, the thrilling touch, of things invisible; the dawning perception of the divineness of Christ, and nearness of the living God; the tumultuous grief roused by the funeral bell, or the solemn wonder, as if it swung in the air of eternity, and made the dead silence speak,—all these primal stirrings of expanding life contain the profoundest interest and beauty, both as prophetic of a most various human growth, and as attesting the healthful power of the soul creating it."

So the leaven has been spreading and working far and wide for more than half a century.

How then, it may be asked, do we stand to-day, as compared with the time of Arnold's death?

The interval has undoubtedly been one of unexampled progress and expansion in school life as in other fields.

There is far less of barbaric roughness and coarseness in our schools, less of the spirit of bullying and annoyance, less of the spirit of idleness, less of the feeling that boys and masters belong to different camps.

Generations of young masters, imbued with Arnold's spirit, touched by the power of his prophetic earnestness, have sown and sown afresh the seeds of his influence; and yet the battle is not won.

School life, amidst present tendencies, greatly needs the influence of Arnold's Christian idealism.

The growth of wealth and luxury, to say nothing of other causes, has infected schools, as it has infected society at large, with a sort of epicurean materialism.

Moreover, the extreme publicity of modern life produces, especially in the young, a kind of sensationalism, which is by no means favourable to the higher moral and spiritual life.

These decadent tendencies may be illustrated by the absorbing influence of the athletic spirit, which in many quarters is no longer a wholesome recreative influence, but so fills the minds and thoughts of both men and boys, and so affects their tastes, as to overlay and stifle moral enthusiasm and ideal aims and purposes.

Thus this influence and power of the external world is too much with us; and we seem to understand more fully than in former years the lament of Euripides over the growth in Hellas of the professional athlete (*ἀθλητῶν γένος*), and men's excessive admiration of him; and we feel that his warning was of permanent value, when he exhorted his fellow-citizens to admire

and to crown with highest honours, not those who happen to be swift of foot or strong in the wrestling bout, but the man who does most to guide in right ways and to uplift the common life of his community—

ὅστις ἡγεῖται πόλει
κάλλιστα, σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνήρ.

In truth this little book with its fresh presentation of Arnold's life and words and work is very opportune, and will do a not unneeded service, if it strengthens our younger schoolmasters to stand up against the materialistic influences of the time by inspiring them with Arnold's intensity of moral purpose and his Christian idealism.

Every master so inspired, as he stands before his boys, will habitually say in his heart—"here are those who have been created, not for the life of sensualism or frivolity or self-seeking ambition or greed, but to be citizens of the commonwealth of Christ."

The study of Arnold must always help to make a master such an one as this, keeping open in his soul the door of communication between the world of daily life around him and the higher life of the spirit, so that both are blended into one —angels ascending and descending.

To such an one some of the words of the last sentence which Arnold wrote in his diary will be the natural expression of his daily purpose, the motto of his daily life—"let me mind my own personal work, to keep myself pure and zealous and believing, labouring to do God's will" in this fruitful vineyard of young lives committed to my charge, as my allotted field, until my work be done.

PART I.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE,

with 'Life at Laleham' (from Stanley's Life of Dr Arnold, Chapter II.) and Extracts from Letters.

THOMAS ARNOLD'S family came originally from Lowestoft in Suffolk, but had resided for many years at West Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where he was born in 1795. From 1803 to 1807 he was educated at a preparatory school at Warminster, and from 1807 to 1811 at Winchester College, being a scholar on the foundation during the last two years. "In after life he always cherished a strong Wykehamist feeling, and, during his headmastership of Rugby, often recurred to his knowledge, there first acquired, of the peculiar constitution of a public school, and to his recollections of the tact in managing boys shown by Dr Goddard, and the skill in imparting scholarship which distinguished Dr Gabell;—both, during his stay there, successively headmasters of Winchester." The importance of these four years at Winchester will be recognized when it is borne in mind that Arnold had no other experience of school life; the interval between leaving Oxford and entering Rugby was spent in private tuition at Laleham.

"He was then, as always, of a shy and retiring disposition, but his manner as a child, and till his entrance at Oxford, was

marked by a stiffness and formality the very reverse of the joyousness and simplicity of his later years; his family and school-fellows both remember him as unlike those of his own age, and with peculiar pursuits of his own; and the tone and style of his earlier letters, which have been for the most part preserved, are such as might naturally have been produced by living chiefly in the company of his elders, and reading, or hearing read to him before he could read himself, books suited to a more advanced age." The sketch of Arnold's boyhood and youth, in the first chapter of Stanley's *Life*, suggests inevitably the type of character which Arnold so often portrayed in his school sermons:—in his own person he "hastened the change" from boyhood to manhood. Sheltered by strong domestic affections from the perils of boarding-school life which he afterwards realized and described so vividly, his mind and heart were free to engage in those intellectual pursuits which absorbed his attention even in childhood. If he was precocious in his pursuit of ballad poetry and of history, this precocity was not the result of external pressure, but exhibited simply the natural bent of an active mind delighting in the deeds and thoughts of the world's great heroes. It was fortunate that the occupations of his school days left him some liberty to roam at will over these fields.

It was not Winchester, however, but Oxford that exercised the most marked influence upon his character:—and this influence, as Coleridge points out, was exerted not by his tutors, but by his associates—especially those of his own College, Corpus. The 'Letter from Mr Justice Coleridge' deserves careful perusal not only in its relation to Arnold, but as exhibiting the special kind of influence that College life, under favourable conditions, can exert upon young scholars.

"In 1814, his name was placed in the first class in Litteræ Humaniores; in the next year he was elected Fellow of Oriel College" (being still only twenty-one years of age) "and he

gained the Chancellor's prize for the two University Essays, Latin and English, for the years 1815 and 1817."

Some twenty pages are here reprinted from Chapter II. of Stanley's *Life* because they not only offer the necessary biographical details, but they display the process by which the young Fellow of Oriel became transformed into the active reformer in religion and education who took charge of Rugby School twelve years later.

For the purposes of this volume little need be added, beyond the extracts from correspondence, to elucidate his own writings. He held the headmastership of Rugby for fourteen years, and died very suddenly in June, 1842. In the previous year he had been greatly gratified by being appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in his University. Of his work as an historian, and as a Churchman, of that delightful home circle of children and friends in the School House at Rugby, nothing need here be said :—these aspects of his busy life are known, through Stanley, to thousands of readers who have no special interest in education, but who cherish the memory of a great and good Englishman.

Life at Laleham.

(*From Chapter II. of Stanley's Life.*)

The society of the Fellows of Oriel College then, as for some time afterwards, numbered amongst its members some of the most rising men in the University, and it is curious to observe the list which, when the youthful scholar of Corpus was added to it, contained the names of Copleston, Davison, Whately, Keble, Hawkins, and Hampden, and shortly after he left it, those of Newman and Pusey, the former of whom was elected into his vacant Fellowship. Amongst the friends with whom

he thus became acquainted for the first time, may chiefly be mentioned Dr Hawkins, since Provost of Oriel, to whom in the last year of his life he dedicated his Lectures on Modern History, and Dr Whately, afterwards Principal of St Alban's Hall, and now Archbishop of Dublin, towards whom his regard was enhanced by the domestic intercourse which was constantly interchanged in later years between their respective families, and to whose writings and conversations he took an early opportunity of expressing his obligations in the Preface to his first volume of Sermons, in speaking of the various points on which the communication of his friend's views had "extended or confirmed his own." For the next four years he remained at Oxford taking private pupils and reading extensively in the Oxford libraries, an advantage which he never ceased to remember gratefully himself, and to impress upon others, and of which the immediate results remain in a great number of MSS., both in the form of abstracts of other works, and of original sketches on history and theology. They are remarkable rather as proofs of industry than of power, and the style of all his compositions, both at this time and for some years later, is cramped by a stiffness and formality alien alike to the homeliness of his first published works and the vigour of his later ones, and strikingly recalling his favourite lines,

> "The old man clogs our earliest years,
> And simple childhood comes the last."

But already in the examination of the Oriel Fellowships, Dr Whately had pointed out to the other electors the great capability of "growth" which he believed to be involved in the crudities of the youthful candidate's exercises, and which, even in points where he was inferior to his competitors, indicated an approaching superiority. And widely different as were his juvenile compositions in many points from those of his after life, yet it is interesting to observe in them the materials which those who knew the pressure of his numerous avocations used

to wonder when he could have acquired, and to trace amidst the strangest contrast of his general thoughts and style occasional remarks of a higher strain, which are in striking, though in some instances perhaps accidental, coincidence with some of his later views. He endeavoured in his historical reading to follow the plan which he afterwards recommended in his Lectures, of making himself thoroughly master of some one period, —the 15th century, with Philip de Comines as his text-book, seems to have been the chief sphere of his studies,—and the first book after his election which appears in the Oriel library as taken out in his name, is Rymer's Fœdera. Many of the judgments of his maturer years on Gibbon, Livy, and Thucydides, are to be found in a MS. of 1815, in which, under the name of "Thoughts on History," he went through the characteristics of the chief ancient and modern historians. And it is almost startling, in the midst of a rhetorical burst of his youthful Toryism in a journal of 1815, to meet with expressions of real feeling about the social state of England such as might have been written in his latest years; or amidst the commonplace remarks which accompany an analysis of St Paul's Epistles and Chrysostom's Homilies, in 1818, to stumble on a statement, complete as far as it goes, of his subsequent doctrine of the identity of Church and State.

Meanwhile he had been gradually led to fix upon his future course in life. In December, 1818, he was ordained deacon at Oxford; and on August 11th, 1820, he married Mary, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Penrose, Rector of Fledborough, in Nottinghamshire, and sister of one of his earliest school and college friends, Trevenen Penrose; having previously settled in 1819 at Laleham, near Staines, with his mother, aunt, and sister, where he remained for the next nine years, taking seven or eight young men as private pupils in preparation for the Universities, for a short time in a joint establishment with his brother-in-law, Mr Buckland, and afterwards independently by himself. Here were born six out of his nine children. The

three youngest, besides one which died in infancy in 1832, were born at Rugby.

In the interval which had elapsed between the end of his under-graduate career at Oxford, and his entrance upon life, had taken place the great change from boyhood to manhood, and with it a corresponding change or growth of character, more marked and more important than at any subsequent period of his life. There was indeed another great step to be taken before his mind reached that later stage of development which was coincident with his transition from Laleham to Rugby. The prosaic and matter of fact element which has been described in his early Oxford life still retained its predominance, and to a certain extent dwarfed and narrowed his sphere of thought; the various principles of political and theological science which contained in germ all that was to grow out of them, had not yet assumed their proper harmony and proportions; his feelings of veneration, if less confined than in later years, were also less intense; his hopes and views, if more practicable and more easily restrained by the advice of others, were also less wide in their range, and less lofty in their conception.

But, however great were the modifications which his character subsequently underwent, it is the change of tone at this time, between the earlier letters of this period and those which immediately succeed them, that marks the difference between the high spirit and warm feeling of his youth, and the fixed earnestness and devotion which henceforth took possession of his whole heart and will. Whatever may have been the outward circumstances which contributed to this—the choice of a profession—the impression left upon him by the sudden loss of his elder brother—the new and to him elevating influences of married life—the responsibility of having to act as the guide and teacher of others—it was now for the first time that the principles, which before he had followed rather as a matter of course, and as held and taught by those around him, became

emphatically part of his own convictions, to be embraced and carried out for life and for death.

From this time forward such defects as were peculiar to his boyhood and early youth entirely disappear; the indolent habits—the morbid restlessness and occasional weariness of duty—the indulgence of vague schemes without definite purpose—the intellectual doubts which beset the first opening of his mind to the realities of religious belief, when he shared at least in part the state of perplexity which in his later sermons he feelingly describes as the severest of earthly trials, and which so endeared to him throughout life the story of the confession of the Apostle Thomas—all seem to have vanished away and never again to have diverted him from the decisive choice and energetic pursuit of what he set before him as his end and duty. From this time forward no careful observer can fail to trace that deep consciousness of the invisible world, and that power of bringing it before him in the midst and through the means of his most active engagements, which constituted the peculiarity of his religious life, and the moving spring of his whole life. It was not that he frequently introduced sacred names in writing or in conversation, or that he often dwelt on divine interpositions; where many would have done so without scruple, he would shrink from it, and in speaking of his own religious feelings, or in appealing to the religious feelings of others, he was, except to those most intimate with him, exceedingly reserved. But what was true generally of the thorough interpenetration of the several parts of his character, was peculiarly true of it in its religious aspect: his natural faculties were not unclothed, but clothed upon; they were at once coloured by, and gave a colour to, the belief which they received. It was in his common acts of life, whether public or private, that the depth of his religious convictions most visibly appeared; it was in his manner of dwelling on religious subjects, that the characteristic tendencies of his mind chiefly displayed themselves.

Accordingly, whilst it is impossible, for this reason, to understand his religious belief except through the knowledge of his actual life and his writings on ordinary subjects, it is impossible, on the other hand, to understand his life and writings without bearing in mind how vivid was his realization of those truths of the Christian Revelation on which he most habitually dwelt. It was this which enabled him to undertake labours which without such a power must have crushed or enfeebled the spiritual growth which in him they seemed only to foster. It was the keen sense of thankfulness consciously awakened by every distinct instance of his many blessings, which more than anything else explained his close union of joyousness with seriousness. In his even tenor of life it was difficult for any one who knew him not to imagine "the golden chain of heavenward thoughts and humble prayers by which, whether standing or sitting, in the intervals of work or of amusement," he "linked together" his "more special and solemn devotions," (Serm. vol. iii. p. 277,) or not to trace something of the consciousness of an invisible presence in the collectedness with which, at the call of his common duties, he rose at once from his various occupations: or in the calm repose which, in the midst of his most active labours, took all the disturbing accidents of life as a matter of course, and made toil so real a pleasure, and relaxation so real a refreshment to him. And in his solemn and emphatic expressions on subjects expressly religious; in his manner of awful reverence when speaking of God or of the Scriptures; in his power of realizing the operation of something more than human, whether in his abhorrence of evil, or in his admiration of goodness;—the impression on those who heard him was often as though he knew what others only believed, as though he had seen what others only talked about. "No one could know him even a little," says one who was himself not amongst his most intimate friends, "and not be struck by his absolute wrestling with evil, so that like St Paul he seemed to be battling with the wicked one, and yet with the

feeling of God's help on his side, scorning as well as hating him."

Above all, it was necessary for a right understanding, not only of his religious opinions, but of his whole character, to enter into the peculiar feeling of love and adoration which he entertained towards our Lord Jesus Christ,—peculiar in the distinctness and intensity which, as it characterized almost all his common impressions, so in this case gave additional strength and meaning to those feelings with which he regarded not only His work of Redemption but Himself, as a living Friend and Master. "In that unknown world in which our thoughts become instantly lost," it was his real support and delight to remember that "still there is one object on which our thoughts and imaginations may fasten, no less than our affections; that amidst the light, dark from excess of brilliance, which surrounds the throne of God, we may yet discern the gracious form of the Son of Man." (Serm. vol. iii. p. 90.) In that consciousness which pressed upon him at times even heavily, of the difficulty of considering God in his own nature, believing as he did that "Providence, the Supreme Being, the Deity, and other such terms repel us to an infinite distance," and that the revelation of the Father, in Himself unapproachable, is to be looked upon rather as the promise of another life, than as the support of this life, it was to him a thought of perhaps more than usual comfort to feel that "our God" is "Jesus Christ our Lord, the image of the invisible God," and that "in Him is represented all the fulness of the Godhead until we know even as we are known" (vol. v. p. 222). And with this full conviction both of his conscience and understanding, that He of whom he spoke was "still the very selfsame Jesus in all human affections and divine excellences;" there was a vividness and tenderness in his conception of Him, on which, if one may so say, all his feelings of human friendship and affection seemed to fasten as on their natural object, "bringing before him His actions, imaging to himself His very voice and look;" there was to

him (so to speak) a greatness in the image thus formed of Him, on which all his natural instincts of reverence, all his range of historical interest, all his admiration of truth and goodness at once centred. "Where can we find a name so holy as that we may surrender our whole souls to it, before which obedience, reverence without measure, intense humility, most unreserved adoration may all be duly rendered?" was the earnest inquiry of his whole nature intellectual and moral, no less than religious. And the answer to it in like manner expressed what he endeavoured to make the rule of his own personal conduct, and the centre of all his moral and religious convictions: "One name there is, and one alone, one alone in heaven and earth—not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not His blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and Man." (Serm. vol. iv. p. 210.)

These were the feelings which, though more fully developed with the advance of years, now for the first time took thorough possession of his mind; and which struck upon his moral nature at this period, with the same kind of force (if one may use the comparison) as the new views which he acquired from time to time of persons and principles in historical or philosophical speculations, impressed themselves upon his intellectual nature. There is naturally but little to interrupt the retirement of his life at Laleham, which was only broken by the short tours in England or on the Continent, in which then, as afterwards, he employed his vacations. Still it is not without interest to dwell on these years, the profound peace of which is contrasted so strongly with the almost incessant agitations of his subsequent life, and "to remain awhile" (thus applying his own words on another subject) "on the high ground where the waters which are hereafter to form the separate streams" of his various social and theological views, "lie as yet undistinguished in their common parent lake."

Whatever may have been the exact notions of his future course which presented themselves to him, it is evident, that he was not insensible to the attraction of visions of extensive influence, and almost to his latest hour he seems to have been conscious of the existence of the temptation within him, and of the necessity of contending against it. "I believe," he said, many years afterwards, in speaking of these early struggles to a Rugby pupil who was consulting him on the choice of a profession,—"I believe that, naturally, I am one of the most ambitious men alive," and "the three great objects of human ambition," he added, to which alone he could look as deserving the name, were "to be the prime minister of a great kingdom, the governor of a great empire, or the writer of works which should live in every age and in every country." But in some respects the loftiness of his aims made it a matter of less difficulty to confine himself at once to a sphere in which, whilst he felt himself well and usefully employed, he felt also that the practical business of his daily duties acted as a check upon his own inclinations and speculations. Accordingly, when he entered upon his work at Laleham, he seems to have regarded it as his work for life. "I have always thought," he writes in 1823, "with regard to ambition, that I should like to be aut Cæsar aut nullus, and as it is pretty well settled for me that I shall not be Cæsar, I am quite content to live in peace as nullus."

It was a period, indeed, on which he used himself to look back, even from the wider usefulness of his later years, almost with a fond regret, as to the happiest time of his life. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and then all other things shall be added to you," was a passage to which now, more than any other time, he was in the habit of recurring, as one of peculiar truth and comfort. His situation supplied him exactly with that union of retirement and work which more than any other condition suited his natural inclinations, and enabled him to keep up more uninterrupted than was ever again

in his power the communication which he so much cherished with his friends and relations. Without undertaking any directly parochial charge, he was in the habit of rendering constant assistance to Mr Hearn, the curate of the place, both in the parish church and workhouse, and in visiting the villagers —thus uniting with his ordinary occupations greater means than he was afterwards able to command, of familiar intercourse with his poorer neighbours, which he always so highly valued. Bound as he was to Laleham by all these ties, he long loved to look upon it as his final home;—and the first reception of the tidings of his election at Rugby was overclouded with deep sorrow at leaving the scene of so much happiness. Years after he had left it, he still retained his early affection for it, and till he had purchased his house in Westmoreland, he entertained a lingering hope that he might return to it in his old age, when he should have retired from Rugby. Often he would revisit it, and delighted in renewing his acquaintance with all the families of the poor whom he had known during his residence; in showing to his children his former haunts; in looking once again on his favourite views of the great plain of Middlesex—the lonely walks along the quiet banks of the Thames—the retired garden, with its "Campus Martius," and its "wilderness of trees," which lay behind his house, and which had been the scenes of so many sportive games and serious conversations—the churchyard of Laleham, then doubly dear to him, as containing the graves of his infant child whom he buried there in 1832, and of his mother, his aunt, and his sister Susannah, who had long formed almost a part of his own domestic circle, and whom he lost within a few years after his departure to Rugby.

His general view of his work as a private tutor is best given in his own words in 1831, to a friend who was about to engage in a similar occupation.

"I know it has a bad name, but my wife and I always happened to be fond of it, and if I were to leave Rugby for no demerit of my

own, I would take to it again with all the pleasure in life. I enjoyed, and do enjoy, the society of youths of seventeen or eighteen, for they are all alive in limbs and spirits at least, if not in mind, while in older persons the body and spirits often become lazy and languid without the mind gaining any vigour to compensate for it. Do not take your work as a dose, and I do not think you will find it nauseous. I am sure you will not, if your wife does not, and if she is a sensible woman, she will not either if you do not. The misery of private tuition seems to me to consist in this, that men enter upon it as a means to some further end; are always impatient for the time when they may lay it aside; whereas if you enter upon it heartily as your life's business, as a man enters upon any other profession, you are not then in danger of grudging every hour you give to it, and thinking of how much privacy, and how much society it is robbing you; but you take to it as a matter of course, making it your material occupation, and devote your time to it, and then you find that it is in itself full of interest; and keeps life's current fresh and wholesome by bringing you in such perpetual contact with all the spring of youthful liveliness. I should say, have your pupils a good deal with you, and be as familiar with them as you possibly can. I did this continually more and more before I left Laleham, going to bathe with them, leaping and all other gymnastic exercises within my capacity, and sometimes sailing or rowing with them. They I believe always liked it, and I enjoyed it myself like a boy, and found myself constantly the better for it."

In many respects his method at Laleham resembled the plan which he pursued on a larger scale at Rugby. Then, as afterwards, he had a strong sense of the duty of protecting his charge, at whatever risk to himself, from the presence of companions who were capable only of exercising an evil influence over their associates; and, young as he was, he persisted in carrying out this principle, and in declining to take any additional pupils as long as he had under him any of such a character, whom yet he did not feel himself justified in removing at once. And in answer to the request of his friends that he would raise his terms, "I am confirmed in my resolution not to do so," he writes in 1827, "lest I should get the

sons of very great people as my pupils whom it is almost impossible to *sophronize*." In reply to a friend in 1821, who had asked his advice in a difficult case of dealing with a pupil,

"I have no doubt," he answers, "that you have acted perfectly right; for lenity is seldom to be repented of; and besides, if you should find that it has been ill bestowed, you can have recourse to expulsion after all. But it is clearly right to try your chance of making an impression; and if you can make any at all, it is at once your justification and encouragement to proceed. It is very often like kicking a football up hill; you kick it onwards twenty yards, and it rolls back nineteen; still you have gained one yard, and thus in a good many kicks you make some progress. This, however, is on the supposition that the pupil's fault is *ἀκρασια* and not *κακία*; for if he laughs behind your back at what you say to him, he will corrupt others, and then there is no help for it, but he must go. This is to me all the difference: I would be as patient as I possibly could with irresolution, unsteadiness, and fits of idleness; but if a pupil has set his mind to do nothing, but considers all the work as so much fudge, which he will evade if he can, I have made up my resolution that I will send him away without scruple; for not to speak of the heartless trouble that such an animal would give to myself, he is a living principle of mischief in the house, being ready at all times to pervert his companions; and this determination I have expressed publicly, and if I know myself I will act upon it, and I advise you most heartily to do the same. Thus, then, with Mr ——, when he appeared penitent and made professions of amendment, you were clearly right to give him a longer trial. If he be sincere, however unsteady and backsliding, he will not hurt the principles of your other pupils; for he will not glory in his own misconduct, which I suppose is the danger: but if you have reason to think that the impression you made on him was only temporary, and that it has since entirely gone away, and his own evil principles as well as evil practices are in vigour, then I would advise you to send him off without delay; for then taking the mischief he will do to others into the account, the football rolls down twenty-five yards to your kick of twenty, and that is a losing game."

"*Ἐχθίστη ὀδύνη πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν*," he writes,

"must be the feeling of many a working tutor who cannot open the eyes of his pupils to see what knowledge is,—I do not mean human knowledge only, but 'wisdom.'"

"You could scarcely conceive the rare instances of ignorance that I have met with amongst them. One had no notion of what was meant by an angle; another could not tell how many Gospels there are, nor could he, after due deliberation, recollect any other names than Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and a third holds the first concord in utter contempt, and makes the infinitive mood supply the place of the principal verb in the sentence without the least suspicion of any impropriety. My labour, therefore, is more irksome than I have ever known it; but none of my pupils give me any uneasiness on the most serious points, and five of them staid the sacrament when it was last administered. I ought constantly to impress upon my mind how light an evil is the greatest ignorance or dulness when compared with habits of profligacy, or even of wilful irregularityand riotousness."

"I regret in your son," he says, (in writing to a parent,) "a carelessness which does not allow him to think seriously of what he is living for, and to do what is right not merely as a matter of regularity, but because it is a duty. I trust you will not think that I am meaning anything more than my words convey, or that what I am regretting in your son is not to be found in nineteen out of every twenty young men of his age; but I conceive that you would wish me to form my desire of what your son should be, not according to the common standard, but according to the highest,—to be satisfied with no less in him than I should have been anxious to find in a son of my own. He is capable of doing a great deal; and I have not seen anything in him which has called for reproof since he has been with me. I am only desirous that he should work more heartily,—just, in short, as he would work if he took an interest of himself in his own improvement. On this, of course, all distinction in Oxford must depend: but much more than distinction depends on it; for the difference between a useful education, and one which does not affect the future life, rests mainly on the greater or less activity which it has communicated to the pupil's mind, whether he has learned to think, or to act, and to gain knowledge by himself, or whether he has merely followed passively as long as there was someone to draw him."

It is needless to anticipate the far more extended influence which he exercised over his Rugby scholars, by describing in detail the impression produced upon his pupils at Laleham. Yet the mere difference of the relation in which he stood towards them in itself gave a peculiar character to his earlier sphere of education, and as such may best be described in the words of one amongst those whom he most esteemed, Mr Price, who afterwards became one of his assistant-masters at Rugby[1].

"Nearly eighteen years have passed away since I resided at Laleham, and I had the misfortune of being but two months as a pupil there. I am unable, therefore, to give you a complete picture of the Laleham life of my late revered tutor; I can only impart to you such impressions as my brief sojourn there has indelibly fixed in my recollection.

"The most remarkable thing which struck me at once on joining the Laleham circle was, the wonderful healthiness of tone and feeling which prevailed in it. Everything about me I immediately found to be most real; it was a place where a new comer at once felt that a great and earnest work was going forward. Dr Arnold's great power as a private tutor resided in this, that he gave such an intense earnestness to life. Every pupil was made to feel that there was a work for him to do—that his happiness as well as his duty lay in doing that work well. Hence an indescribable zest was communicated to a young man's feeling about life; a strange joy came over him on discovering that he had the means of being useful, and thus of being happy; and a deep respect and ardent attachment sprang up towards him who had taught him thus to value life and his own self, and his work and mission in this world. All this was founded on the breadth and comprehensiveness of Arnold's character, as well as its striking truth and reality; on the unfeigned regard he had for work of all kinds, and the sense he had of its value both for the complex aggregate of society and the growth and perfection of the individual. Thus, pupils of the most different natures were keenly stimulated; none felt that he was left out, or that, because he was not endowed

[1] Mr Bonamy Price was in later years Professor of Political Economy at Oxford.

with large powers of mind, there was no sphere open to him in the honourable pursuit of usefulness. This wonderful power of making all his pupils respect themselves, and of awakening in them a consciousness of the duties that God had assigned to them personally, and of the consequent reward each should have of his labours, was one of Arnold's most characteristic features as a trainer of youth; he possessed it eminently at Rugby; but, if I may trust my own vivid recollections, he had it quite as remarkably at Laleham. His hold over all his pupils I know perfectly astonished me. It was not so much an enthusiastic admiration for his genius, or learning, or eloquence which stirred within them; it was a sympathetic thrill, caught from a spirit that was earnestly at work in the world—whose work was healthy, sustained, and constantly carried forward in the fear of God—a work that was founded on a deep sense of its duty and its value; and was coupled with such a true humility, such an unaffected simplicity, that others could not help being invigorated by the same feeling, and with the belief that they too in their measure could go and do likewise.

"In all this there was no excitement, no predilection for one class of work above another; no enthusiasm for any one-sided object; but an humble, profound, and most religious consciousness that work is the appointed calling of man on earth, the end for which his various faculties were given, the element in which his nature is ordained to develop itself, and in which his progressive advance towards heaven is to lie. Hence, each pupil felt assured of Arnold's sympathy in his own particular growth and character of talent; in striving to cultivate his own gifts, in whatever direction they might lead him, he infallibly found Arnold not only approving, but positively and sincerely valuing for themselves the results he had arrived at; and that approbation and esteem gave a dignity and a worth both to himself and his labour.

"His humility was very deeply seated; his respect for all knowledge sincere. A strange feeling passed over the pupil's mind when he found great, and often undue, credit given him for knowledge of which his tutor was ignorant. But this generated no conceit: the example before his eyes daily reminded him that it was only as a means of usefulness, as an improvement of talents

for his own good and that of others that knowledge was valued. He could not find comfort in the presence of such reality, in any shallow knowledge.

"There was then, as afterwards, great simplicity in his religious character. It was no isolated part of his nature, it was a bright and genial light shining on every branch of his life. He took very great pains with the Divinity lessons of his pupils: and his lectures were admirable, and, I distinctly remember, very highly prized for their depth and originality. Neither generally in ordinary conversation, nor in his walks with his pupils, was his style of speaking directly or mainly religious; but he was ever very ready to discuss any religious question; whilst the depth and truth of his nature, and the earnestness of his religious convictions and feelings, were ever bursting forth, so as to make it strongly felt that his life, both outward and inward, was rooted in God.

"In the details of daily business, the quantity of time that he devoted to his pupils was very remarkable. Lessons began at seven, and with the interval of breakfast lasted till nearly three; then he would walk with his pupils, and dine at half-past five. At seven he usually had some lesson on hand; and it was only when we all were gathered up in the drawing-room after tea, amidst young men on all sides of him, that he would commence work for himself, in writing his sermons or Roman History.

"Who that ever had the happiness of being at Laleham, does not remember the lightness and joyousness of heart, with which he would romp and play in the garden, or plunge with a boy's delight into the Thames; or the merry fun with which he would battle with spears with his pupils? Which of them does not recollect how the Tutor entered into his amusements with scarcely less glee than himself?

"But I must conclude: I do not pretend to touch on every point. I have told you what struck me most, and I have tried to keep away all remembrance of what he was when I knew him better. I have confined myself to the impression Laleham left upon me.

"B. PRICE."

The studies which most occupied his spare time at Laleham were philology and history, and he employed himself chiefly on a Lexicon of Thucydides, and also on an edition of that author with Latin notes, subsequently exchanged for English ones, a short History of Greece, never finished or published, and on articles on Roman History from the times of the Gracchi to that of Trajan, written for the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, between 1821 and 1827.

It was in 1825 that, through the recommendation of Archdeacon Hare, he first became acquainted with Niebuhr's History of Rome. In the study of this work, which was the first German book he ever read, and for the sake of reading which he had learned that language, a new intellectual world dawned upon him, not only in the subject to which it related, but in the disclosure to him of the depth and research of German literature, which from that moment he learned more and more to appreciate, and, as far as his own occupations would allow him, to emulate.

On his view of Roman History its effect was immediate: "It is a work (he writes on first perusing it) of such extraordinary ability and learning, that it opened wide before my eyes the extent of my own ignorance;" and he at once resolved to delay any independent work of his own till he had more completely studied the new field of inquiry suggested to him, in addition to the doubts he had himself already expressed as to the authenticity of much of the early Roman history in one of his first articles in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. In an article in the Quarterly Review of 1825, he was (to use Niebuhr's own words of thanks to him in the second edition of his first volume, Note 1053. i. p. 451, Eng. Transl.) "the scholar who introduced the first edition of this history to the English public;" and the feeling which had dictated this friendly notice of it grew with years. The reluctance which he had at first entertained to admit the whole of Niebuhr's conclusions, and which remained even to 1832, when in regard to his views of ancient

history he was inclined to "charge him with a tendency to excessive scepticism," (Pref. to 1st ed. of 2nd vol. of Thucyd. p. xiv,) settled by degrees into a determination "never to differ from him without a full consciousness of the probability that further inquiry might prove him to be right;" (Pref. to Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. x;) and with this increasing adhesion to his views, increased also a sentiment of something like personal veneration, which made him, as he used to say, "at once emulous and hopeless," rendering him jealous for Niebuhr's reputation, as if for his own, and anxious, amidst the pressure of his other occupations, to undertake, or at least superintend, the translation of the third volume when it was given up by Hare and Thirlwall, from a "desire to have his name connected with the translation of that great work, which no one had studied more or admired more entirely." But yet more than by his mere reading, all these feelings towards Niebuhr, towards Germany, and towards Roman history, were strengthened by his visit to Rome in 1827, and by the friendship which he there formed with Chevalier Bunsen, successor to Niebuhr as minister at the Papal court. He was at Rome only thirteen days, but the sight of the city and of the neighbourhood, to which he devoted himself to the almost entire exclusion of the works of art, gave him a living interest in Rome which he had before wanted and which he never lost. The Chevalier Bunsen he saw no more till 1838; but the conversation which he had there enjoyed with him formed the ground of an unbroken intercourse by letters between them: by his encouragement he was principally induced in later years to resume the History of Rome, which he eventually dedicated to him; whilst dwelling on the many points of resemblance between their peculiar pursuits and general views, he used to turn with enthusiastic delight to seek for his sympathy from the isolation in which he often seemed to be placed in his own country.

But now, as afterwards, he found himself most attracted

towards the Interpretation of Scripture and the more practical aspect of Theology; and he was only restrained from entering upon the study of them more directly, partly by diffidence in his own powers, partly by a sense that more time was needed for their investigation than he had at his command. His early intimacy with the leading men of the then Oriel school, remarkable as it was for exhibiting a union of religious earnestness with intellectual activity, and distinct from any existing party amongst the English clergy, contributed to foster the independence which characterized his theological and ecclesiastical views from the first time that he took any real interest in serious matters. And he used to look back to a visit to Dr Whately, then residing on his cure in Suffolk, as a marked era in the formation of his views, especially as opening to his mind, or impressing upon it more strongly, some of the opinions on which he afterwards laid so much stress with regard to the Christian Priesthood.

But although in the way of modification or confirmation his thoughts owed much to the influence of others, there was always, even at this less stirring period of his mind, an original spring within. The words "He that judgeth me is the Lord," as they stand at the head of one of the most characteristic sermons of this period[1], are a true expression of his general views at this time of his life. The distinctness and force with which the words and acts recorded in the Gospel History came before him, seemed to have impressed him early with a conviction that there was something in them very different from what was implied in the common mode of talking and acting on religious subjects. The recollections of his conversations which have been preserved from this period, abound with expressions of his strong sense of the "want of Christian principle in the literature of the day," and an anxious foreboding of the possible results which might thence ensue in the case of any change in existing notions and circumstances.

[1] Serm., vol. i. p. 229.

"I fear," he said, "the approach of a greater struggle between good and evil than the world has yet seen, in which there may well happen the greatest trial to the faith of good men that can be imagined, if the greatest talent and ability are decidedly on the side of their adversaries, and they will have nothing but faith and holiness to oppose to it." "Something of this kind," he said, "may have been the meaning or part of the meaning of the words, 'that by signs and wonders they should deceive even the elect.' What I should be afraid of would be, that good men, taking alarm at the prevailing spirit, would fear to yield even points they could not maintain, instead of wisely giving them up, and holding on where they could." Hence one object of his early attempts at his Roman History was the hope, as he said, that its tone might be such "that the strictest of what is called the Evangelical party would not object to putting it into the hands of their children." Hence again he earnestly desired to see some leading periodical taking a decidedly religious tone, unconnected with any party feeling:—

"It would be a most happy event," he writes in 1822, "if a work which has so great a sale, and contains so much curious information, and has so much the tone of men of the world, [as the Quarterly Review,] could be disciplined to a uniformly Christian spirit, and appear to uphold good principles for their own sake, and not merely as tending to the maintenance of things as they are. It would be delightful to see a work sincerely Christian, which should be neither High Church, nor what is called Evangelical."

Out of this general sense of the extreme contrast between the high standard of the Christian religion and the evils of the existing state of Christendom, especially in his own age and country, arose one by one those views which, when afterwards formed into a collected whole, became the animating principle of his public life, but which it is not necessary to anticipate here, except by indicating how rapidly they were in the process of formation in his own mind.

It was now that his political views began to free themselves alike from the mere childish Jacobinism of his boyhood, and from the hardly less stable Toryism which he had imbibed from the influence of his early Oxford friends—a change which is best to be seen in his own words, in a letter to Mr Justice Coleridge many years afterwards (Jan. 26, 1840). And though his interest in public affairs was much less keen at this period than in the subsequent stages of his life, his letters contain, especially after 1826, indications of the same lively sense of social evils, founded on his knowledge of history, which became more and more a part of his habitual thoughts.

"I think daily," he said, in speaking of the disturbances in 1819, "of Thucydides, and the Corcyrean sedition, and of the story of the French Revolution, and of the Cassandra-like fate of history, whose lessons are read in vain even to the very next generation."

"I cannot tell you," he writes in 1826, "how the present state of the country occupies my mind, and what a restless desire I feel that it were in my power to do any good. My chief fear is that when the actual suffering is a little abated, people will go on as usual, and not probing to the bottom the deep disease which is to my mind ensuring no ordinary share of misery in the country before many years are over. But we know that it is our own fault if our greatest trials do not turn out to be our greatest advantages."

In ecclesiastical matters in like manner he had already begun to conceive the necessity of great alterations in the Church Establishment, a feeling which at this period, when most persons seemed to acquiesce in its existing state, was naturally stronger than in the later years of his life, when the attacks to which it was exposed from without and from within, appeared at times to endanger its existence.

"I hope to be allowed before I die, to accomplish something on Education, and also with regard to the Church," he writes in 1826; "the last indeed even more than the other, were not the task, humanly speaking, so hopeless. But the more I think of the matter, and the more I read of the Scriptures themselves, and of

the history of the Church, the more intense is my wonder at the language of admiration with which some men speak of the Church of England, which certainly retains the foundation sure, as all other Christian societies do, except the Unitarians, but has overlaid it with a very sufficient quantity of hay and stubble, which I devoutly hope to see burnt one day in the fire. I know that other churches have their faults also, but what have I to do with them? It is idle to speculate in *alienâ republicâ*, but to reform one's own is a business which nearly concerns us."

His lively appreciation of the high standard of practical and social excellence, enjoined in the Christian dispensation, was also guiding him to those principles of interpretation of Scripture, which he applied so extensively in his later works.

"The tendency," he writes to Dr Hawkins in 1827, "which so many Christians have had and still have, to fancy that the goodness of the old Patriarchs was absolute rather than relative, and that men who are spoken of as having had personal communication with God, must have had as great knowledge of a future state as ourselves, is expressed in one of G. Herbert's poems, in which he seems to look upon the revelations of the patriarchal Church almost with envy, as if they had nearer communion with God than Christians have. All which seems to me to arise out of a forgetfulness or misapprehension of the privileges of Christians in their communion with the Holy Spirit,—and to originate partly in the tritheistic notions of the Trinity, which make men involuntarily consider the *Third* Person as inferior in some degree to those who are called First and Second, whereas the Third relation of the Deity to man is rather the most perfect of all; as it is that in which God communes with man, not 'as a man talketh with his friend,' but as a Spirit holding discourse invisibly and incomprehensibly, but more effectually than by any outward address,—with the *spirits* only of his creatures. And therefore it was expedient for the disciples that God should be with their hearts as the Spirit, rather than speaking to their ears as the Son. This will give you the clue to my view of the Old Testament, which I never can look upon as addressed to men having a Faith in Christ such as Christians have, or looking forward to eternal life with any settled and uniform hope."

Lastly, the following extracts give his approaches to his subsequent views on Church and State.

"What say you," he writes in 1827, to Dr Whately, "to a work on πολιτικὴ, in the old Greek sense of the word, in which I should try to apply the principles of the Gospel to the legislation and administration of a state. It would begin with a simple statement of the τέλος of man according to Christianity, and then would go on to show how the knowledge of this τέλος would affect all our views of national wealth, and the whole question of political economy; and also our practice with regard to wars, oaths, and various other relics of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου."

And to Mr Blackstone in the same year:—

"I have long had in my mind a work on Christian Politics, or the application of the Gospel to the state of man as a citizen, in which the whole question of a religious establishment and of the education proper for Christian members of a Christian commonwealth would naturally find a place. It would embrace also an historical sketch of the pretended conversion of the kingdoms of the world to the kingdom of Christ in the fourth and fifth centuries, which I look upon as one of the greatest *tours d'adresse* that Satan ever played, except his invention of Popery. I mean that by inducing kings and nations to conform nominally to Christianity, and thus to get into their hands the direction of Christian society, he has in a great measure succeeded in keeping out the peculiar principles of that society from any extended sphere of operation, and in ensuring the ascendancy of his own. One real conversion there seems to have been, that of the Anglo-Saxons; but that he soon succeeded in corrupting; and at the Norman Conquest we had little I suppose to lose even from the more direct introduction of Popery and worldly religion which came in with the Conqueror."

All these floating visions, which were not realized till long afterwards, are best represented in the first volume of his Sermons, which were preached in the parish church at Laleham, and form by far the most characteristic record of this period.

"My object," he said in his Preface, "has been to bring the great principles of the Gospel home to the hearts and practices of my own countrymen in my own time—and particularly to those of

my own station in society, with whose sentiments and language I am naturally most familiar, and for this purpose, I have tried to write in such a style as might be used in real life, in serious conversation with our friends, or with those who asked our advice; in the language, in short, of common life, and applied to the cases of common life; but ennobled and strengthened by those principles and feelings which are to be found only in the Gospel."

This volume is, not only in the time of its appearance, but also in its style and substance, the best introduction to all his later works; the very absence of any application to particular classes or states of opinion, such as gives more interest to his subsequent sermons, is the more fitted to exhibit his fundamental views, often not developed in his own mind, in their naked simplicity. And it is in itself worthy of notice, as being the first or nearly the first attempt, since followed in many other quarters, at breaking through the conventional phraseology with which English preaching had been so long encumbered, and at uniting the language of reality and practical sense with names and words which, in the minds of so many of the educated classes, had become closely associated with notions of sectarianism or extravagance.

It was published in 1828, immediately after his removal to Rugby, and had a rapid circulation. Many, both then and long afterwards, who most differed from some of his more peculiar opinions, rejoiced in the possession of a volume which contained so much in which they agreed, and so little from which they differed. The objections to its style or substance may best be gathered from the following extracts of his own letters.

1. "If the sermons are read, I do not care one farthing if the readers think me the most unclassical writer in the English language. It will only remove me to a greater distance from the men of elegant minds with whom I shall most loathe to be associated. But, however, I have looked at the sermons again, with a view to correcting the baldness which you complain of, and in some places, I have endeavoured to correct it. And I again assure you, that I

will not knowingly leave unaltered anything violent, harsh, or dogmatical. I am not conscious of the *ex cathedrâ* tone of my sermons—at least not beyond what appears to me proper in the pulpit, where one does in a manner speak *ex cathedrâ*. But I think my decided tone is generally employed in putting forward the sentiments of Scripture, not in drawing my own conclusions from it."

2. In answer to a complaint that "they carry the standard so high as to unchristianize half the community," he says, "I do not see how the standard can be carried higher than Christ or his Apostles carry it, and I do not think that we ought to put it lower. I am sure that the habitually fixing it so much lower, especially in all our institutions and public practice, has been most mischievous."

3. "I am very much gratified by what you say of my sermons; yet pained to find that their tone is generally felt to be so hard and severe. I believe the reason is, that I mostly thought of my pupils in preaching, and almost always of the higher classes, who I cannot but think have commonly very little of the 'bruised reed' about them. You must remember that I never had the regular care of a parish, and therefore have seen comparatively little of those cases of a troubled spirit, and of a fearful and anxious conscience, which require comfort far more than warning. But still, after all, I fear that the intense mercy of the Gospel has not been so prominently represented as it should have been, while I have been labouring to express its purity."

Meanwhile, his friends had frequently represented to him the desirableness of a situation which would secure a more certain provision, and a greater sphere of usefulness than that which he occupied at Laleham; and he had been urged, more than once, to stand for the Mastership at Winchester, which he had declined first from a mistrust of his own fitness or inclination for the office, and afterwards from more general reasons. But the expense of the neighbourhood of Laleham had already determined him to leave it, and he was framing plans for a change of life, when, in August, 1827, the head-mastership of Rugby became vacant by the resignation of Dr Wooll, who had held it for twenty-one years. It was not till late in the

contest for the situation that he finally resolved to offer himself as a candidate. When, therefore, his testimonials were sent in to the twelve trustees, noblemen and gentlemen of Warwickshire, in whom the appointment rests, the canvass for the office had advanced so far as to leave him, in the opinion of himself and many of his friends, but little hope of success. On the day of the decision, the testimonials of the several candidates were read over in the order in which they had been sent in; his own were therefore among the last; and whilst none of the trustees were personally acquainted with him, few if any of them, owing to the lateness of his appearance, had heard his name before. His testimonials were few in number, and most of them couched in general language, but all speaking strongly of his qualifications. Amongst them was a letter from Dr Hawkins, now Provost of Oriel, in which it was predicted that, if Mr Arnold were elected to the head-mastership of Rugby, he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England. The trustees had determined to be guided entirely by the merits of the candidates, and the impression produced upon them by this letter, and by the general confidence in him expressed in all the testimonials, was such, that he was elected at once, in December, 1827. In June, 1828, he received Priest's orders from Dr Howley, then Bishop of London; in April and November of the same year took his degree of B.D. and D.D.; and in August entered on his new office.

A SELECTION FROM LETTERS RELATING TO EDUCATIONAL TOPICS, WRITTEN AT VARIOUS PERIODS FROM 1827 TO 1840.

The Roman numerals refer to the numbering of the letters in Stanley's Life: the first two from Laleham, the rest from Rugby.

XXI. *To Rev. E. Hawkins.*

Laleham, October 21, 1827.

I feel most sincerely obliged to you and my other friends in Oxford for the kind interest which you show in my behalf, in wishing to procure for me the head-mastership at Rugby. Of its being a great deal more lucrative than my present employment I have no doubt; nor of its being in itself a situation of more extensive usefulness; but I do doubt whether it would be so in my hands, and how far I am fitted for the place of head-master of a large school. . . . . I confess that I should very much object to undertake a charge in which I was not invested with pretty full discretion. According to my notions of what large schools are, founded on all I know and all I have ever heard of them, expulsion should be practised much oftener than it is. Now, I know that trustees, in general, are averse to this plan, because it has a tendency to lessen the numbers of the school, and they regard quantity more than quality. In fact, my opinions on this point might, perhaps, generally be considered as disqualifying me for the situation of master of a great school; yet I could not consent to tolerate much that I know is tolerated generally, and therefore, I should not like to enter on an office which I could not discharge according to my own views of what is right. I do not believe myself, that my system would be, in fact, a cruel or a harsh one, and I believe that with much care on the part of the masters, it would be seldom necessary to proceed to the ratio ultima; only I would have it clearly understood, that I would most unscrupulously resort to it, at whatever inconvenience, where there was a perseverance in any habit inconsistent with a boy's duties.

XXV. *To Rev. John Tucker.*

Laleham, March 2, 1828.

With regard to reforms at Rugby, give me credit, I must beg of you, for a most sincere desire to make it a place of Christian education. At the same time my object will be, if possible, to form Christian men, for Christian boys I can scarcely hope to make; I mean that, from the natural imperfect state of boyhood, they are not susceptible of Christian principles in their full development upon their practice, and I suspect that a low standard of morals in many respects must be tolerated amongst them, as it was on a larger scale in what I consider the boyhood of the human race[1]. But I believe that a great deal may be done, and I should be most unwilling to undertake the business, if I did not trust that much might be done. Our impressions of the exterior of everything that we saw during our visit to Dr Wooll in January, were very favourable; at the same time that I anticipate a great many difficulties in the management of affairs, before they can be brought into good train. But both M. and myself, I think, are well inclined to commence our work, and if my health and strength be spared me, I certainly feel that in no situation could I have the prospect of employment so congenial to my taste and qualifications; that is, supposing always that I find that I can manage the change from older pupils to a school.

VIII. *To a parent holding Unitarian opinions.*

Rugby, June 15, 1829.

I had occasion to speak to your son this evening on the subject of the approaching confirmation; and, as I had understood that his friends were not members of the Established Church, my object was not so much to persuade him to be confirmed, as to avail

[1] See Sermons, vol. ii. p. 440. His later sermons and letters seem to indicate that subsequently this opinion would not have been expressed quite so strongly. (Compare pp. 57, 234 in this volume. ED.)

myself of the opportunity thus afforded me to speak with him generally on the subject of his state as a Christian, and the peculiar temptations to which he was now peculiarly exposed, and the nature of that hope and faith which he would require as his best defence. But, on enquiring to what persuasion his friends belonged, I found that they were Unitarians. I felt myself therefore unable to proceed, because, as nothing would be more repugnant to my notions of fair dealing, than to avail myself indirectly of my opportunities of influencing a boy's mind contrary to the religious belief of his parents, without giving them the fullest notice, so, on the other hand, when the differences of belief are so great and so many, I feel that I could not at all enter into the subject, without enforcing principles wholly contrary to those in which your son has been brought up. This difficulty will increase with every half-year that he remains at the school, as he will be gradually coming more and more under my immediate care; and I can neither suffer any of those boys with whom I am more immediately connected to be left without religious instruction, nor can I give it in his case, without unavoidably imparting views, wholly different from those entertained by the persons whom he is naturally most disposed to love and honour. Under the circumstances, I think it fair to state to you, what line I shall feel bound to follow, after the knowledge which I have gained of your son's religious belief. In everything I should say to him on the subject, I should use every possible pains and delicacy to avoid hurting his feelings with regard to his relations; but at the same time, I cannot avoid labouring to impress on him, what is my belief on the most valuable truths in Christianity, and which, I fear, must be sadly at variance with the tenets in which he has been brought up. I should not do this controversially, and in the case of any other form of dissent from the Establishment, I would avoid dwelling on the differences between us, because I could teach all that I conceive to be essential in Christianity, without at all touching upon them. But in this instance, it is impossible to avoid interfering with the very points most at issue. I have a very good opinion of your son, both as to his conduct and abilities, and I should be very sorry to lose him from the school. I think, also, that any one who knows me, would give you ample assurance that I have not the slightest feeling against Dissenters as such, or any desire, but rather very much the

contrary, to make this school exclusive. My difficulty with your son is not one which I feel as a Churchman, but as a Christian; and goes only on this simple principle, that I feel bound to teach the essentials of Christianity to all those committed to my care—and with these the tenets of the Unitarians alone, among all the Dissenters in the kingdom, are in my judgment irreconcileable. I trust that you will forgive me for having troubled you thus at length on this subject.

CIII. *To Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley, Bart.*

(In answer to a question about Public and Private Schools.)

Rugby, April 15, 1835.

. . . . . The difficulties of education stare me in the face, whenever I look at my own four boys. I think by and by that I shall put them into the school here, but I shall do it with trembling. Experience seems to point out no one plan of education as decidedly the best; it only says, I think, that public education is the best where it answers. But then the question is, will it answer with one's own boy? and if it fails, is not the failure complete? It becomes a question of particulars: a very good private tutor would tempt me to try private education, or a very good public school, with connexions amongst the boys at it, might induce me to venture upon public. Still there is much chance in the matter; for a school may change its character greatly, even with the same master, by the prevalence of a good or bad set of boys; and this no caution can guard against. But I should certainly advise anything rather than a private school of above thirty boys. Large private schools, I think, are the worst possible system: the choice lies between public schools, and an education, whose character may be strictly private and domestic. This, I fear, is but an unsatisfactory opinion; but I shall be most happy to give you all the advice that I can upon any particular case that you may have to propose, when I have the pleasure of seeing you in Westmoreland.

From Letter CXXIV. *To Mr Justice Coleridge.*

Rugby, March 2, 1836.

You get from me two or three letters a year; in these I cannot represent what is really my life's business and state of mind, for school affairs would not interest you, nor will the quiet scenes of mere family life bear description. I therefore write naturally of public matters, of questions of general interest; and I write upon them as I feel, that is, decidedly and deeply. But this produces a false impression upon your mind, as if these feelings occupied me predominantly, and you express a wish that I would concentrate my energies upon the school, my own business. Why you cannot surely think that Hawtrey or your brother Edward or any man in England does so more than I do? I should feel it the greatest possible reproach, if I were conscious of doing otherwise. But although a school, like a parish or any other occupation in which our business is to act morally upon our neighbours, affords in fact infinite employment, and no man can ever say that he has done all that he might do,—still in the common sense of the term, I can truly say, that I live for the school; that very pamphlet which I sent you was written almost entirely at Fox How, and my own employment here has been all of a kind to bear directly upon the school work; first Thucydides, and now the Roman History, and subjects more or less connected with the Scriptures, or else my Sermons. Undoubtedly, I do not wish my mind to feel less or to think less upon public matters; ere it does so, its powers must be paralyzed; and I am sure that the more active my own mind is, and the more it works upon great moral and political points, the better for the school; not, of course, for the folly of proselytizing the boys, but because education is a dynamical, not a mechanical process, and the more powerful and vigorous the mind of the teacher, the more clearly and readily he can grasp things, the better fitted he is to cultivate the mind of another. And to this I find myself coming more and more: I care less and less for information, more and more for the pure exercise of the mind; for answering a question concisely and comprehensively, for showing a command of language, a delicacy of taste, and a comprehensiveness of thought and power of combination.

CLXX. *To W. Empson, Esq.*

Rugby, November 28, 1837.

. . . . . The whole question turns upon this:—whether the country understood, and was meant to understand, that the University of London was to be open to all Christians without distinction, or to all men without distinction. The question which had been discussed with regard to Oxford and Cambridge, was the admissibility of Dissenters; which in common speech does not mean, I think, Dissenters from Christianity: no one argued, so far as I know, for the admission of avowed unbelievers. I thought that the University of London was intended to solve this question, and I therefore readily joined it. I thought that whatever difficulties were supposed to exist with respect to the introduction of the Greek Testament, related to Dissenters only, and, as such, I respected them; and our plan, therefore, waiving the Epistles, requires only some one Gospel and the Acts; that is, any one who is afraid of the Gospel of St John may take up St Luke or St Mark; and St Luke and the Acts have been translated by the Irish Board of Education, and are used in the Irish schools with the full consent of Catholics and Protestants; nor do I imagine that any Protestant Dissenters could consistently object to either. I do not see the force of the argument about the College in Gower Street; because we admit their students to be examined for degrees, we do not sanction their system any more than we sanction the very opposite system of King's College. Nor does it follow, so far as I see, that University College must have a Professor of Theology, because we expect its members to have a knowledge of the elements of Christianity. University College hopes—or has not yet ventured to say it does not hope—that its students are provided with this knowledge before they join it. But I should protest, in the strongest terms, against its being supposed that our University is to be merely an University College with a Charter: if so, undoubtedly I would not belong to it for an hour. You say that we are bringing in the Greek Testament by a side wind, in putting it in amongst the Classical writers: but, if by Classics we mean anything more than Greek and Latin Grammar, they are just the one part of our

Examination which embraces points of general education: for instance, we have put in some recommendations about Modern History, which, if Classics be taken to the letter, are just as much of a departure from our province, as what we have done about the Greek Testament. On the whole, I am quite clear as to my original position, namely, that if you once get off from the purely natural ground of physical science, Philology, and pure Logic,—the moment, in short, on which you enter upon any moral subjects,—whether Moral Philosophy or History—you must either be Christian or Antichristian, for you touch upon the ground of Christianity, and you must either take it as your standard of moral judgment,—or you must renounce it, and either follow another standard, or have no standard at all. In other words, again, the moment you touch on what alone is education,—the forming of the moral principles and habits of man,—neutrality is impossible; it would be very possible, if Christianity consisted really in a set of theoretical truths, as many seem to fancy; but it is not possible, inasmuch as it claims to be the paramount arbiter of all our moral judgments; and he who judges of good and evil, right and wrong, without reference to its authority, virtually denies it. The Gower Street College I therefore hold to be Antichristian, inasmuch as it meddles with moral subjects,—having lectures in History,—and yet does not require its Professors to be Christians. And so long as the Scriptures were held to contain divine truth on physical science, it was then impossible to give even physical instruction neutrally;—you must either teach it, according to God's principles, (it being assumed that God's word had pronounced concerning it,) or in defiance of them. I hope we may meet on Saturday: I know that you are perfectly sincere, and that L—— is so: nevertheless, I am persuaded that your argument goes on an over-estimate of the theological and abstract character of Christianity, and an under-estimate of it as a moral law; else how can L—— talk of a clergyman being in a false position in belonging to the University, if he does not think that the position is equally false for every Christian: if it be false for me, it is false for you, except on the priestcraft notion, which is as unchristian, in my opinion, as the system in Gower Street. Indeed, the two help one another well.

CLXXXIII. *To the Earl of Burlington.*

(Chancellor of the University of London.)

Rugby, March 17, 1838.

I fear that I may be too late in offering the following suggestions, but I had not observed the progress of the Committees, till I found by the reports, which I received this morning, that a resolution had been passed, but not yet, I believe, confirmed, to adopt the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor, that the examinations should be conducted entirely through the medium of printed papers. I think that is a point on which the experience of Oxford, entirely confirmed in my judgment by my own experience here, is well deserving of consideration,—because we habitually use and know the value of printed papers, and we know also the advantages to be derived from a vivâ voce examination, of which Cambridge has made no trial. I think that these advantages are much too great to be relinquished by us altogether.

1st. The exercise of extempore translation is the only thing in our system of education, which enables a young man to express himself fluently and in good language without premeditation. Wherever it is attended to, it is an exercise of exceeding value; it is, in fact, one of the best possible modes of instruction in English composition, because the constant comparison with the different idioms of the languages, from which you are translating, shows you in the most lively manner the peculiar excellences and defects of our own; and if men are tried by written papers only, one great and most valuable talent, that of readiness, and the very useful habit of retaining presence of mind, so as to be able to avail oneself without nervousness of all one's knowledge, and to express it at once by word of mouth, are never tried at all.

2nd. Nothing can equal a vivâ voce examination for trying a candidate's knowledge in the contents of a long history or of a philosophical treatise. I have known men examined for two hours together vivâ voce in Aristotle, and they have been thus tried more completely than could be done by printed papers; for a man's answers suggest continually further questions; you can at once probe his weak points; and, where you find him strong, you can give him an opportunity of doing himself justice, by bringing him out especially on those very points.

3rd. Time is saved, and thereby weariness and exhaustion of mind to both parties. A man can speak faster than he can write, and he is relieved by the variety of the exercise.

4th. The éclat of a vivâ voce examination is not to be despised. When a clever man goes into the schools at Oxford, the room is filled with hearers of all ranks in the University. His powers are not merely taken on trust from the report of the examiners; they are witnessed by the University at large, and their peculiar character is seen and appreciated also. I have known the eloquence of a man's translations from the poets and orators and historians, and the clearness and neatness of his answers in his philosophical examination, long and generally remembered, with a distinctness of impression very different from that produced by the mere knowledge that he is in the first class. And in London, the advantages of such a public vivâ voce examination would be greater of course than anywhere else, because the audience might be larger and more mixed.

5th. Presence of mind is a quality which deserves to be encouraged—nervousness is a defect which men feel painfully in many instances through life. Education should surely attach some reward to a valuable quality which may be acquired in great measure by early practice, and should impose some penalty or some loss on the want of it. Now, if you have printed papers, you effectually save a man from suffering too much from his nervousness; but if you have printed papers *only*, you do not, I think, encourage as you should do the excellence of presence of mind, and the power of making our knowledge available on the instant.

6th. It is an error to suppose that no exact judgment of a man can be formed from a vivâ voce examination. Like all other things, such an examination requires some attention and some practice on the part of those who conduct it; but all who have had much experience in it are well aware that, combined with an examination on paper, it is entirely satisfactory. In fact, either system, of papers or of vivâ voce examination, if practised exclusively, does but half try the men. Each calls forth faculties which the other does not reach equally.

As it is not in my power to be present at the next meetings of the University, I have ventured to say thus much by letter. I trust that I shall not be thought presumptuous in having done so.

CXCI. *To the Earl of Burlington.*

(Chancellor of the University of London.)

Rugby, November 7, 1838.

It is with the greatest regret that, after the fullest and fairest deliberation which I have been able to give to the subject, I feel myself obliged to resign my Fellowship in the University of London[1].

The Constitution of the University seems now to be fixed, and it has either begun to work, or will soon do so. After the full discussion given to the question, on which I had the misfortune to differ from the majority of the Senate, I felt that it would be unbecoming to agitate the matter again, and it only remained for me to consider whether the institution of a voluntary Examination in Theology would satisfy, either practically or in theory, those principles which appeared to me to be indispensable.

I did not wish to decide this point hastily, but after the fullest consideration and inquiry, I am led to the conclusion that the voluntary Examination will not be satisfactory. Practically I fear it will not, because the members of King's College will not be encouraged by their own authorities, so far as I can learn, to subject themselves to it; and the members of University College may be supposed, according to the principles of their own society, to be averse to it altogether. But, even if it were to answer practically better than I fear it will do, still it does not satisfy the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country. Whereas with us it would be no essential part of one system, but merely a branch of knowledge which any man might pursue if he liked, but which he might also, if he liked, wholly neglect, without forfeiting his claim, according to our estimate, to the title of a completely educated man.

And further, as it appeared, I think, to the majority of the Senate, that the terms of our Charter positively forbade that which in my judgment is indispensable; and as there is a painfulness in even appearing to dispute the very law under which our University exists; there seems to me an additional reason why, disapproving

[1] Vide Chapter VIII. in Stanley's Life.

as I do very strongly of that which is held to be the main principle of our Charter, I should withdraw myself from the University altogether.

I trust that I need not assure your Lordship or the Senate, that I am resigning my Fellowship from no factious or disappointed feeling, or from any personal motives whatever. Most sincerely shall I rejoice if the University does in practice promote the great interests to which the principle appears to me to be injurious. Most glad shall I be if those whose affection to those interests is, I well know, quite as sincere and lively as mine, shall be found to have judged of their danger more truly as well as more favourably.

CXCIX. *To the Under Secretary of State.*

(Relating to the College in Van Diemen's Land.)

Rugby, March 19, 1839.

. . . . . Some expressions in your letter lead me to ask whether, if the person appointed to the School were not in orders, there would be an objection on the part of the Government to his entering into them before he left England? Because, I think that many persons best fitted to carry on the work of education, would be actually unwilling to engage in it, unless they were allowed to unite the clerical character with that of the teacher. This feeling is, I confess, entirely my own. Even in a far lower point of view, as to what regards the position of a schoolmaster in society, you are well aware that it has not yet obtained that respect in England, as to be able to stand by itself in public opinion as a liberal profession; it owes the rank which it holds to its connexion with the profession of a clergyman, for that is acknowledged universally in England to be the profession of a gentleman. Mere teaching, like mere literature, places a man, I think, in rather an equivocal position; he holds no undoubted station in society by these alone; for neither education nor literature have ever enjoyed that consideration and general respect in England, which they enjoy in France and in Germany. But a far higher consideration is this, that he who is to educate boys, if he is fully sensible of the importance of his business, must be unwilling to lose such great

opportunities as the clerical character gives him, by enabling him to address them continually from the pulpit, and to administer the Communion to them as they become old enough to receive it. And in a remote colony it would be even more desirable than in England, that the head of a great institution for education should be able to stand in this relation to his pupils; and I am quite sure that the spirit of proselytism, which some persons appear so greatly to dread, would no more exist in a good and sensible clergyman, than in a good and sensible layman. Your master must be a member of some Church or other, if he is not a minister of it; if he is a sincere member of it, and fitted to give religious instruction at all, he must be anxious to inculcate its tenets; but, if he be a man of judgment and honesty, and of a truly Catholic spirit, he will find it a still more sacred duty not to abuse the confidence of those parents of different persuasions who may have intrusted their children to his care, and he will think besides that the true spirit of a Christian teacher is not exactly the spirit of proselytism. I must beg to apologize for having trespassed on your time thus long.

CCII. *To the Under Secretary of State.*

July 1, 1839.

. . . . . Nothing can be more proper than that the Head-master or Principal of the proposed School should be subject to the control of the Governor, or of the Bishop, should there be one in the colony. I am only anxious to understand clearly whether he is to be in any degree under the control of any local Board, whether lay or clerical; because, if he were, I could not conscientiously recommend him to undertake an office which I am sure he would shortly find himself obliged to abandon. Uniform experience shows, I think, so clearly the mischief of subjecting schools to the ignorance and party feelings of persons wholly unacquainted with the theory and practice of education, that I feel it absolutely necessary to understand fully the intentions of the Government on this question.

CCVII. *To Rev. G. Cornish.*

Fox How, July 6, 1839.

. . . . . As I believe that the English universities are the best places in the world for those who can profit by them, so I think for the idle and self-indulgent they are about the very worst, and I would far rather send a boy to Van Diemen's Land, where he must work for his bread, than send him to Oxford to live in luxury, without any desire in his mind to avail himself of his advantages. Childishness in boys, even of good abilities, seems to me to be a growing fault, and I do not know to what to ascribe[1] it, except to the great number of exciting books of amusement, like Pickwick and Nickleby, Bentley's Magazine, &c., &c. These completely satisfy all the intellectual appetite of a boy, which is rarely very voracious, and leave him totally palled, not only for his regular work, which I could well excuse in comparison, but for good literature of all sorts, even for History and for Poetry.

CCXV. *To H. Balston*[2]*, Esq.*

Rugby, November 21, 1839.

. . . . . With regard to the questions in your letter, I hold that to a great degree in the choice of a profession, "sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido," a man's inclination for a calling is a great presumption that he either is or will be fit for it. And in education this holds very strongly, for he who likes boys has probably a daily sympathy with them; and to be in sympathy with the mind you propose to influence is at once indispensable, and will enable you to a great degree to succeed in influencing it.

Another point to which I attach much importance is liveliness. This seems to me an essential condition of sympathy with creatures so lively as boys are naturally, and it is a great matter to make them understand that liveliness is not folly or thoughtlessness. Now I think the prevailing manner amongst many very valuable men at Oxford is the very opposite to liveliness; and I think that

[1] See Sermons, vol. iv. pp. 39–41 (p. 159–161 in this volume).

[2] A former pupil.

this is the case partly with yourself; not at all from affectation, but from natural temper, encouraged, perhaps, rather than checked, by a belief that it is right and becoming. But this appears to me to be in point of manner the great difference between a clergyman with a parish and a schoolmaster. It is an illustration of St Paul's rule, "Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep." A clergyman's intercourse is very much with the sick and the poor, where liveliness would be greatly misplaced; but a schoolmaster's is with the young, the strong, and the happy, and he cannot get on with them unless in animal spirits he can sympathize with them, and show them that his thoughtfulness is not connected with selfishness and weakness. At least, this applies, I think, to a young man; for when a teacher gets to an advanced age, gravity, I suppose, would not misbecome him, for liveliness might then seem unnatural, and his sympathy with boys must be limited, I suppose, then, to their great interests rather than their feelings.

You can judge what truth may be in this notion of mine generally; and if true, how far it is applicable to your own case; but, knowing you as I do, my advice to you would be to follow that line for which you seem to have the most evident calling; and surely the sign of God's calling in such a case is to be sought in our own reasonable inclination, for the tastes and faculties which he gives us are the marks of our fitness for one thing rather than another.

CCXLII. *To Rev. Herbert Hill.*

Rugby, May 8, 1840.

I was very glad indeed to find that —— were to go to you; but, before I heard it, I was going to send you an exhortation, which, although you may think it needless, I will not even now forbear. It is, that you should, without fail, instruct your pupils in the six books of Euclid at least. I am, as you well know, no mathematician, and therefore my judgment in this matter is worth so much the more, because what I can do in mathematics, anybody can do; and as I can teach the first six books of Euclid, so I am sure can you. Then it is a grievous pity that at your age, and with no greater amount of work than you now have, you should make up your mind to be shut out from one great department, I might

almost say, from many great departments of human knowledge. Even now I would not allow myself to say that I should never go on in mathematics, unlikely as it is at my age; yet I always think that if I were to go on a long voyage, or were in any way hindered from using many books, I should turn very eagerly to geometry, and other such studies. But further, I do really think that with boys and young men, it is not right to leave them in ignorance of the beginnings of physical science. It is so hard to begin anything in after life, and so comparatively easy to continue what has been begun, that I think we are bound to break ground, as it were, into several of the mines of knowledge with our pupils, that the first difficulties may be overcome by them while there is yet a power from without to aid their own faltering resolution, and that so they may be enabled, if they will, to go on with the study hereafter. I do not think that you do a pupil full justice, if you so entirely despise Plato's authority, as to count geometry in education to be absolutely good for nothing. I am sure that you will forgive me for urging this, for I think that it concerns you much, and I am quite sure that you ought not to run the risk of losing a pupil because you will not master the six books of Euclid, which, after all, are not to be despised for one's very own solace and delight; for I do not know that Pythagoras did anything strange, if he sacrificed a hecatomb when he discovered that marvellous relation between the squares containing and subtending a right angle, which the 47th proposition of the first book demonstrates.

PART II.

SCHOOL LIFE AT RUGBY.

(Stanley's 'Life of Dr Arnold,' Chapter III.)

It would be useless to give any chronological details of a life so necessarily monotonous as that of the Head-master of a public school; and it is accordingly only intended to describe the general system which Dr Arnold pursued during the fourteen years he was at Rugby. Yet some apology may seem to be due for the length of a chapter, which to the general reader must be comparatively deficient in interest. Something must, indeed, be forgiven to the natural inclination to dwell on those recollections of his life, which to his pupils are the most lively and the most recent—something to the almost unconscious tendency to magnify those scenes which are most nearly connected with what is most endeared to oneself. But independently of any local or personal considerations, it has been felt that if any part of Dr Arnold's work deserved special mention, it was his work at Rugby; and that if it was to be of any use to those of his own profession who would take any interest in it, it could only be made so by a full and minute account.

Those who look back upon the state of English education in the year 1827, must remember how the feeling of dissatisfaction with existing institutions which had begun in many

quarters to display itself, had already directed considerable attention to the condition of public schools. The range of classical reading, in itself confined, and with no admixture of other information, had been subject to vehement attacks from the liberal party generally, on the ground of its alleged narrowness and inutility. And the more undoubted evil of the absence of systematic attempts to give a more directly Christian character to what constituted the education of the whole English gentry, was becoming more and more a scandal in the eyes of religious men, who at the close of the last century and the beginning of this—Wilberforce, for example, and Bowdler—had lifted up their voices against it. A complete reformation or a complete destruction of the whole system, seemed to many persons sooner or later to be inevitable. The difficulty, however, of making the first step, where the alleged objection to alteration was its impracticability, was not to be easily surmounted. The mere resistance to change which clings to old institutions, was in itself a considerable obstacle, and, in the case of some of the public schools, from the nature of their constitution, in the first instance almost insuperable; and whether amongst those who were engaged in the existing system, or those who were most vehemently opposed to it, for opposite but obvious reasons, it must have been extremely difficult to find a man who would attempt, or if he attempted, carry through, any extensive improvement.

It was at this juncture that Dr Arnold was elected Headmaster of a school which, whilst it presented a fair average specimen of the public schools at that time, yet by its constitution imposed fewer shackles on its head, and offered a more open field for alteration than was the case at least with Eton or Winchester. The post itself, in spite of the publicity, and to a certain degree formality, which it entailed upon him, was in many respects remarkably suited to his natural tastes;—to his love of tuition, which had now grown so strongly upon him, that he declared sometimes that he could hardly live without

such employment; to the vigour and spirits which fitted him rather to deal with the young than the old; to the desire of carrying out his favourite ideas of uniting things secular with things spiritual, and of introducing the highest principles of action into regions comparatively uncongenial to their reception.

Even his general interest in public matters was not without its use in his new station. Many, indeed, both of his admirers and of his opponents, used to lament that a man with such views and pursuits should be placed in such a situation. "What a pity," it was said on the one hand, "that a man fit to be a statesman should be employed in teaching school-boys." "What a shame," it was said on the other hand, "that the Head-master of Rugby should be employed in writing essays and pamphlets." But, even had there been no connexion between the two spheres of his interest, and had the inconvenience resulting from his public prominence been far greater than it was, it would have been the necessary price of having him at all in that place. He would not have been himself, had he not felt and written as he did; and he could not have endured to live under the grievance of remaining silent on subjects, on which he believed it to be his most sacred duty to speak what he thought.

As it was, however, the one sphere played into the other. Whatever labour he bestowed on his literary works was only part of that constant progress of self-education which he thought essential to the right discharge of his duties as a teacher. Whatever interest he felt in the struggles of the political and ecclesiastical world, reacted on his interest in the school, and invested it in his eyes with a new importance. When he thought of the social evils of the country, it awakened a corresponding desire to check the thoughtless waste and selfishness of school-boys; a corresponding sense of the aggravation of those evils by the insolence and want of sympathy too frequently shown by the children of the wealthier classes

towards the lower orders; a corresponding desire that they should there imbibe the first principles of reverence to law and regard for the poor which the spirit of the age seemed to him so little to encourage. When he thought of the evils of the Church, he would "turn from the thought of the general temple in ruins, and see whether they could not, within the walls of their own little particular congregation," endeavour to realize what he believed to be its true idea; "what use they could make of the vestiges of it still left amongst themselves—common reading of the Scriptures, common prayer, and the Communion." (Serm., vol. iv. pp. 266, 316.) Thus, "whatever of striking good or evil happened in any part of the wide range of English dominion"—brought to his thoughts "on what important scenes some of his own scholars might be called upon to enter"; "whatever new and important things took place in the world of thought," suggested the hope "that they, when they went forth amidst the strifes of tongues and of minds, might be endowed with the spirit of wisdom and power." (Serm., vol. v. p. 405.) And even in the details of the school, it would be curious to trace how he recognised in the peculiar vices of boys the same evils which, when full grown, became the source of so much social mischief; how he governed the school precisely on the same principles as he would have governed a great empire; how constantly, to his own mind or to his scholars, he exemplified the highest truths of theology and philosophy in the simplest relations of the boys towards each other, or towards him.

In entering upon his office he met with difficulties, many of which have since passed away, but which must be borne in mind, if points are here dwelt upon, that have now ceased to be important, but were by no means insignificant or obvious when he came to Rugby. Nor did his system at once attain its full maturity. He was a long time feeling his way amongst the various institutions which he formed or invented:—he was constantly striving after an ideal standard of perfection, which

he was conscious that he had never attained; to the improvements which, in a short time, began to take place in other schools—to those at Harrow, under his friend Dr Longley, and to those at Winchester, under Dr Moberly, to which he alluded in one of his later sermons, (vol. v. p. 150), he often looked as models for himself;—to suggestions from persons very much younger than himself, not unfrequently from his former pupils, with regard to the course of reading, or to alterations in his manner of preaching, or to points of discipline, he would often listen with the greatest deference. His own mind was constantly devising new measures for carrying out his several views. "The school," he said, on first coming, "is quite enough to employ any man's love of reform; and it is much pleasanter to think of evils, which you may yourself hope to relieve, than those with regard to which you can give nothing but vain wishes and opinions." "There is enough of Toryism in my nature," he said, on evils being mentioned to him in the place, "to make me very apt to sleep contentedly over things as they are, and therefore I hold it to be most true kindness when any one directs my attention to points in the school which are alleged to be going on ill."

The perpetual succession of changes which resulted from this, was by many objected to as excessive, and calculated to endanger the stability of his whole system. "He wakes every morning," it was said of him, "with the impression that everything is an open question." But rapid as might be the alterations to which the details of his system were subjected, the general principles remained fixed. The unwillingness which he had, even in common life, to act in any individual case without some general law to which he might refer it, ran through everything, and at times it would almost seem as if he invented universal rules with the express object of meeting particular cases. Still, if in smaller matters this gave an occasional impression of fancifulness or inconsistency, it was, in greater matters, one chief cause of the confidence which he inspired. Amidst all

the plans that came before him, he felt, and he made others feel, that whatever might be the merits of the particular question at issue, there were principles behind which lay far more deeply seated than any mere question of school government, which he was ready to carry through at whatever cost, and from which no argument or menace could move him.

Of the mere external administration of the school, little need here be said. Many difficulties which he encountered were alike provoked and subdued by the peculiarities of his own character. The vehemence with which he threw himself into a contest against evil, and the confidence with which he assailed it, though it carried him through perplexities to which a more cautious man would have yielded, led him to disregard interests and opinions which a less earnest or a less sanguine reformer would have treated with greater consideration. His consciousness of his own integrity, and his contempt for worldly advantage, sometimes led him to require from others more than might be reasonably expected from them, and to adopt measures which the world at large was sure to misinterpret; yet these very qualities, in proportion as they became more appreciated, ultimately secured for him a confidence beyond what could have been gained by the most deliberate circumspection. But whatever were the temporary exasperations and excitements thus produced in his dealings with others, they were gradually removed by the increasing control over himself and his work which he acquired in later years. The readiness which he showed to acknowledge a fault when once convinced of it, as well as to persevere in kindness even when he thought himself injured, succeeded in healing breaches which, with a less forgiving or less honest temper, would have been irreparable. His union of firmness with tenderness had the same effect in the settlement of some of the perplexities of his office, which in others would have resulted from art and management; and even his work as a schoolmaster cannot be properly appreciated without remembering how, in the end of

his career, he rallied round him the public feeling, which in its beginning and middle, as will appear further on, had been so widely estranged from him.

With regard to the Trustees of the school, entirely amicable as were his usual relations with them, and grateful as he felt to them for their active support and personal friendliness, he from the first maintained that in the actual working of the school he must be completely independent, and that their remedy, if they were dissatisfied, was not interference, but dismissal. On this condition he took the post, and any attempt to control either his administration of the school, or his own private occupations, he felt bound to resist "as a duty," he said on one occasion, "not only to himself, but to the master of every foundation school in England."

Of his intercourse with the assistant-masters it is for obvious reasons impossible to speak with that detail which the subject deserves. But though the co-operation of his colleagues was necessarily thrown into the shade by the activity and vigour of his own character, it must not be lost sight of in the following account, whether it be regarded as one of his most characteristic means of administration, or as an instance of the powerful influence he exercised over those with whom he was brought into close contact. It was one of his main objects to increase in all possible ways their importance and their interest in the place. "Nothing delights me more," he said, in speaking of the reputation enjoyed by one of his colleagues, "than to think that boys are sent here for his sake rather than for mine." In matters of school discipline he seldom or never acted without consulting them. Every three weeks a council was held, in which all school matters were discussed, and in which every one was free to express his opinion, or propose any measure not in contradiction to any fundamental principle of school administration, and in which it would not unfrequently happen that he himself was opposed and outvoted. He was anxious that they like himself should have time to read

for their own improvement, and he was also glad to encourage any occasional help that they might render to the neighbouring clergy. But from the first he maintained that the school business was to occupy their main and undivided interest. The practice, which owing to their lower salaries had before prevailed, of uniting some parochial cure with their school duties, was entirely abolished, and the boarding-houses, as they respectively became vacant, he placed exclusively under their care. The connexion thus established between the masters and the boys in the several houses he laboured to strengthen by opening in various ways means for friendly communication between them;—every house was thus to be as it were an epitome of the whole school. On the one hand every master was to have, as he used to say, "each a horse of his own to ride," independent of the "mere phantasmagoria of boys" passing successively through their respective forms; and on the other hand, the boys would thus have some one at hand to consult in difficulties, to explain their case if they got into trouble with the Headmaster or the other masters, to send a report[1] of their characters home, to prepare them for confirmation, and in general to stand to them in the relation of a pastor to his flock. "No parochial ministry," he would say to them, "can be more properly a cure of souls than yours"; and though, where it might happen that the masters were laymen, no difference was made between their duties to their boys and those of others, yet he was anxious, as a general rule, that they should be ordained as soon as possible, and procured from the bishop of the diocese a recognition of their situations as titles for orders. Whatever, in short, he was in his own department, he wished them to be in theirs;—whatever he felt about his

[1] This practice, which he first introduced at the end of each half-year, afterwards became monthly. He himself used latterly to write besides every half-year to the parents of every boy in his own form;—shortly, if the boy's character was good—at considerable length, if he had cause of complaint.

superintendence of the whole school, he wished them to feel about that part of it especially committed to them. It was an increasing delight to him to inspire them with general views of education and of life, by which he was himself so fully possessed; and the bond, thus gradually formed, especially when in his later time several of those who had been his pupils became his colleagues, grew deeper and stronger with each successive year that they passed in the place. Out of his own family, there was no circle, of which he was so completely the animating principle, as amongst those who co-operated with him in the great practical work of his life; none in which his loss was more keenly felt to be irreparable, or his example more instinctively regarded as a living spring of action, and a source of solemn responsibility, than amongst those who were called to continue their labours in the sphere and on the scene which had been ennobled to them by his counsels and his presence[1].

But whatever interest attaches to the more external circumstances of his administration, and to his relations with others who were concerned in it, is of course centered in his own

[1] His views will perhaps be best explained by the two following letters.

LETTER OF INQUIRY FOR A MASTER.

. . . . . What I want is a man who is a Christian and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense, and understands boys. I do not so much care about scholarship, as he will have immediately under him the lowest forms in the school; but yet, on second thoughts, I do care about it very much, because his pupils may be in the highest forms; and besides, I think that even the elements are best taught by a man who has a thorough knowledge of the matter. However, if one must give way, I prefer activity of mind and an interest in his work to high scholarship: for the one may be acquired far more easily than the other. I should wish it also to be understood, that the new master may be called upon to take boarders in his house, it being my intention for the future to require this of all masters as I see occasion, that so in time the boarding-houses may die a natural death. . . . . With this to offer, I think I have a right to look rather high for the man whom I fix upon, and it is my great object to get

personal government of the boys. The natural effect of his concentration of interest on what he used to call "our great self," the school, was that the separate existence of the school was in return almost merged in him. This was not indeed his own intention, but it was precisely because he thought so much of the institution and so little of himself, that in spite of his efforts to make it work independently of any personal influence of his own, it became so thoroughly dependent upon him, and so thoroughly penetrated with his spirit. From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects; whatever excellences it had were his excellences. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school which was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth, was derived not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether

here a society of intelligent, gentlemanly, and active men, who may permanently keep up the character of the school, and make it "vile damnum," if I were to break my neck to-morrow. . . . . .

LETTER TO A MASTER ON HIS APPOINTMENT.

. . . . . The qualifications which I deem essential to the due performance of a master's duties here, may in brief, be expressed as the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman,—that a man should enter upon his business not ἐκ παρέργου, but as a substantive and most important duty; that he should devote himself to it as the especial branch of the ministerial calling which he has chosen to follow—that belonging to a great public institution, and standing in a public and conspicuous situation, he should study things "lovely and of good report"; that is, that he should be public spirited, liberal, and entering heartily into the interest, honour, and general respectability and distinction of the society which he has joined; and that he should have sufficient vigour of mind and thirst for knowledge, to persist in adding to his own stores without neglecting the full improvement of those whom he is teaching. I think our masterships here offer a noble field of duty, and I would not bestow them on any one whom I thought would undertake them without entering into the spirit of our system heart and hand.

in the school itself, or in its after effects, the one image that we have before us is not Rugby, but ARNOLD.

What was his great object has already appeared from his letters; namely, the hope of making the school a place of really Christian education. These words in his mouth meant something very different from the general professions which every good teacher must be supposed to make, and which no teacher even in the worst times of English education could have openly ventured to disclaim; but it is exceedingly difficult so to explain them, as that they shall not seem to exceed or fall short of the truth. It was not an attempt merely to give more theological instruction, or to introduce sacred words into school admonitions; there may have been some occasions for religious advice that might have been turned to more advantage, some religious practices which might have been more constantly or effectually encouraged. His design arose out of the very nature of his office: the relation of an instructor to his pupils was to him, like all the other relations of human life, only in a healthy state, when subordinate to their common relation to God. The idea of a Christian school, again, was to him the natural result, so to speak, of the very idea of a school in itself; exactly as the idea of a Christian State seemed to him to be involved in the very idea of a State itself. The intellectual training was not for a moment underrated, and the machinery of the school was left to have its own way. But he looked upon the whole as bearing on the advancement of the one end of all instruction and education; the boys were still treated as schoolboys, but as schoolboys who must grow up to be Christian men; whose age did not prevent their faults from being sins, or their excellences from being noble and Christian virtues; whose situation did not of itself make the application of Christian principles to their daily lives an impracticable vision.

His education, in short, it was once observed amidst the vehement outcry by which he used to be assailed, "was not

(according to the popular phrase) based upon religion, but was itself *religious*." It was this chiefly which gave a oneness to his work amidst a great variety of means and occupations, and a steadiness to the general system amidst its almost unceasing change. It was this which makes it difficult to separate one part of his work from another, and which often made it impossible for his pupils to say in after life, of much that had influenced them, whether they had derived it from what was spoken in school, in the pulpit, or in private. And, therefore, when either in direct religious teaching, or on particular occasions, Christian principles were expressly introduced by him, they had not the appearance of a rhetorical flourish or of a temporary appeal to the feelings; they were looked upon as the natural expression of what was constantly implied: it was felt that he had the power, in which so many teachers have been deficient, of saying what he did mean, and of not saying what he did not mean,—the power of doing what was right, and speaking what was true, and thinking what was good, independently of any professional or conventional notions that so to act, speak, or think, was becoming or expedient.

It was not merely an abstract school, but an English public school, which he looked upon as the sphere in which this was to be effected. There was something to him at the very outset full of interest in a great place of national education, such as he considered a public school to be.

"There is[1]," he said, "or there ought to be, something very ennobling in being connected with an establishment at once ancient and magnificent; where all about us, and all the associations belonging to the objects around us, should be great, splendid, and elevating. What an individual ought and often does derive from the feeling that he is born of an old and illustrious race, from being familiar from his childhood with the walls and trees which speak of the past no less than of the present, and make both full of images of greatness; this, in an inferior degree, belongs to every member

[1] See p. 137 below.

of an ancient and celebrated place of education. In this respect every one of us has a responsibility imposed upon him, which I wish that we more considered." (Serm. vol. iii. p. 210.)[1]

This feeling of itself dictated the preservation of the old school constitution as far as it was possible, and he was very careful not to break through any customs which connected the institution, however slightly, with the past. But in this constitution there were peculiarities of far greater importance in his eyes for good or evil, than any mere imaginative associations; the peculiarities which distinguish the English public school system from almost every other system of education in Europe, and which are all founded on the fact that a large number of boys are left for a large portion of their time to form an independent society of their own, in which the influence that they exercise over each other is far greater than can possibly

[1] It was one of his most cherished wishes at Rugby, to be enabled to leave to the school some permanent rank or dignity, which should in some measure compensate for its total barrenness of all historical associations, which he always felt painfully in contrast with his own early school, Winchester. Thus, amongst other schemes, he exerted himself to procure a medal or some similar favour from the Crown. "I can truly say," he wrote in 1840, "that nothing which could have been given me in the way of preferment, would have been so gratifying to me as to have been the means in any degree of obtaining what I think would be not more an honour than a real and lasting benefit to the school." The general grounds on which he thought this desirable, may best be stated in his own words: "I think that it would be well, on public grounds, to confer what may be considered as analogous to a peerage conferred on some of the wealthiest commoners, or to a silk gown bestowed on distinguished lawyers; that is, that when schools had risen from a very humble origin to a considerable place in the country, and had continued so for some time, some royal gift, however small, should be bestowed upon them, merely as a sort of recognition or confirmation, on the part of the Crown, of the courtesy rank which they had acquired already. I have always believed that one of the simplest and most effectual means of improving the foundation schools throughout the country, would be to hold out the hope of some mark of encouragement from the Crown, as they might happen to deserve it."

be exercised by the masters, even if multiplied greatly beyond their present number.

How keenly he felt the evils resulting from this system, and the difficulty of communicating to it a really Christian character, will be evident to any one who knows the twelfth Sermon in his second volume, in which he unfolded, at the beginning of his career, the causes which had led good men to declare that "public schools are the seats and nurseries of vice"[1]; or the three Sermons[2] on "Christian Schools," in his fifth volume, in which, with the added experience of ten years, he analyzed the six evils by which he "supposed that great schools were likely to be corrupted, and to be changed from the likeness of God's temple to that of a den of thieves." (Vol. v. p. 74.)

Sometimes he would be led to doubt whether it were really compatible with the highest principles of education; sometimes he would seem to have an earnest and almost impatient desire to free himself from it. Still, on the whole, it was always on a reformation, not on an overthrow, of the existing constitution of the school that he endeavoured to act. "Another system," he said, "may be better in itself, but I am placed in this system, and am bound to try what I can make of it."

With his usual undoubting confidence in what he believed to be a general law of Providence, he based his whole management of the school on his early-formed and yearly-increasing conviction that what he had to look for, both intellectually and morally, was not performance but promise; that the very freedom and independence of school life, which in itself he thought so dangerous, might be made the best preparation for Christian manhood; and he did not hesitate to apply to his scholars the principle which seemed to him to have been adopted in the training of the childhood of the human race itself[3]. He shrunk from pressing on the conscience of boys rules of action which he felt they were not yet able to bear,

[1] p. 128. [2] pp. 168–185.

[3] Sermons, vol. ii. p. 440 (see pp. 30, 234 in this volume).

and from enforcing actions which, though right in themselves, would in boys be performed from wrong motives. Keenly as he felt the risk and fatal consequences of the failure of this trial, still it was his great, sometimes his only support to believe that "the character is braced amid such scenes to a greater beauty and firmness than it ever can attain without enduring and witnessing them. Our work here would be absolutely unendurable if we did not bear in mind that we should look forward as well as backward—if we did not remember that the victory of fallen man lies not in innocence but in tried virtue." (Serm. vol. iv. p. 7.) "I hold fast," he said, "to the great truth, that 'blessed is he that overcometh'"; and he writes in 1837:—"Of all the painful things connected with my employment, nothing is equal to the grief of seeing a boy come to school innocent and promising, and tracing the corruption of his character from the influence of the temptations around him, in the very place which ought to have strengthened and improved it. But in most cases those who come with a character of positive good are benefited; it is the neutral and indecisive characters which are apt to be decided for evil by schools, as they would be in fact by any other temptation."

But this very feeling led him with the greater eagerness to catch at every means, by which the trial might be shortened or alleviated. "Can the change from childhood to manhood be hastened, without prematurely exhausting the faculties of body or mind?" (Serm. vol. iv. p. 19)[1] was one of the chief questions on which his mind was constantly at work, and which in the judgment of some he was disposed to answer too readily in the affirmative. It was with the elder boys, of course, that he chiefly acted on this principle, but with all above the very young ones he trusted to it more or less. Firmly as he believed that *a* time of trial was inevitable, he believed no less firmly that it might be passed at public schools sooner than under other circumstances; and, in proportion as he disliked the

[1] See pp. 148–155.

assumption of a false manliness in boys, was his desire to cultivate in them true manliness, as the only step to something higher, and to dwell on earnest principle and moral thoughtfulness, as the great and distinguishing mark between good and evil[1]. Hence his wish that as much as possible should be done *by* the boys, and nothing *for* them; hence arose his practice, in which his own delicacy of feeling and uprightness of purpose powerfully assisted him, of treating the boys as gentlemen and reasonable beings, of making them respect themselves by the mere respect he showed to them; of showing that he appealed and trusted to their own common sense and conscience. Lying, for example, to the masters, he made a great moral offence; placing implicit confidence in a boy's assertion, and then, if a falsehood was discovered, punishing it severely,—in the upper part of the school, when persisted in, with expulsion. Even with the lower forms he never seemed to be on the watch for boys; and in the higher forms any attempt at further proof of an assertion was immediately checked:—"If you say so, that is quite enough—*of course* I believe your word;" and there grew up in consequence a general feeling that "it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie—he always believes one."

Perhaps the liveliest representation of this general spirit, as distinguished from its exemplification in particular parts of the discipline and instruction, would be formed by recalling his manner, as he appeared in the great school, where the boys used to meet when the whole school was assembled collectively, and not in its different forms or classes. Then, whether on his usual entrance every morning to prayers before the first lesson, or on the more special emergencies which might require his presence, he seemed to stand before them, not merely as the head master, but as the representative of the school. There he spoke to them as members together with himself of the same great institution, whose character and reputation they had to sustain as well as he. He would dwell on the satisfaction he

[1] See pp. 153; 156–9.

had in being head of a society, where noble and honourable feelings were encouraged, or on the disgrace which he felt in hearing of acts of disorder or violence, such as in the humbler ranks of life would render them amenable to the laws of their country, or again, on the trust which he placed in their honour as gentlemen, and the baseness of any instance in which it was abused. "Is this a Christian school?" he indignantly asked at the end of one of those addresses, in which he had spoken of an extensive display of bad feeling amongst the boys, and then added,—"I cannot remain here if all is to be carried on by constraint and force; if I am to be here as a gaoler, I will resign my office at once." And few scenes can be recorded more characteristic of him than on one of these occasions, when, in consequence of a disturbance, he had been obliged to send away several boys, and when, in the midst of the general spirit of discontent which this excited, he stood in his place before the assembled school, and said, "It is *not* necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or of fifty boys; but it *is* necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."

The means of carrying out these principles were of course various; they may, however, for the sake of convenience, be viewed under the divisions of the general discipline of the school, the system of instruction, the chapel services, and his own personal intercourse and influence.

I. In considering his general management of the discipline of the school, it will only be possible to touch on its leading features.

1. He at once made a great alteration in the whole system of punishments in the higher part of the school, "keeping it as much as possible in the background, and by kindness and encouragement attracting the good and noble feelings of those with whom he had to deal[1]." As this appears more distinctly

[1] The whole sermon is a full exposition of his view. See pp. 162–167.

elsewhere, it is needless to enlarge upon it here; but a few words may be necessary to explain the view with which, for the younger part of the school, he made a point of maintaining, to a certain extent, the old discipline of public schools.

"The beau ideal of school discipline with regard to young boys would seem to be this, that, whilst corporal punishment was retained on principle as fitly answering to and marking the naturally inferior state of boyhood, and therefore as conveying no peculiar degradation to persons in such a state, we should cherish and encourage to the utmost all attempts made by the several boys, as individuals, to escape from the natural punishment of their age by rising above its naturally low tone of principle."

Flogging, therefore, for the younger part, he retained, but it was confined to moral offences, such as lying, drinking, and habitual idleness, while his aversion to inflicting it rendered it still less frequent in practice than it would have been according to the rule he had laid down for it. But in answer to the argument used in a liberal journal, that it was even for these offences and for this age degrading, he replied with characteristic emphasis—

"I know well of what feeling this is the expression; it originates in that proud notion of personal independence which is neither reasonable nor Christian—but essentially barbarian. It visited Europe with all the curses of the age of chivalry, and is threatening us now with those of Jacobinism. . . . . At an age when it is almost impossible to find a true manly sense of the degradation of guilt or faults, where is the wisdom of encouraging a fantastic sense of the degradation of personal correction? What can be more false, or more adverse to the simplicity, sobriety, and humbleness of mind, which are the best ornament of youth, and the best promise of a noble manhood[1]?"

2. But his object was of course far higher than to check particular vices. "What I want to see in the school," he said, "and what I cannot find, is an abhorrence of evil; I always

[1] Miscellaneous Works, p. 365 (pp. 222–235 in this volume).

think of the Psalm, 'Neither doth he abhor anything that is evil.'" Amongst all the causes, which in his judgment contributed to the absence of this feeling, and to the moral childishness, which he considered the great curse of public schools, the chief seemed to him to lie in the spirit which was there encouraged of combination, of companionship, of excessive deference to the public opinion prevalent in the school. Peculiarly repugnant as this spirit was at once to his own reverence for lawful authority, and to his dislike of servile submission to unlawful authority; fatal as he deemed it to all approach to sympathy between himself and his scholars—to all free and manly feeling in individual boys—to all real and permanent improvement of the institution itself—it gave him more pain when brought prominently before him, than any other evil in the school. At the very sight of a knot of vicious or careless boys gathered together round the great school-house fire, "It makes me think," he would say, "that I see the Devil in the midst of them." From first to last it was the great subject to which all his anxiety converged. No half year ever passed without his preaching upon it—he turned it over and over in every possible point of view—he dwelt on it as the one master-fault of all. "If the spirit of Elijah were to stand in the midst of us, and we were to ask him, 'What shall we do then?' his answer would be, 'Fear not, nor heed one another's voices, but fear and heed the voice of God only'." (MS. Serm. on Luke iii. 10. 1833.)

Against this evil he felt that no efforts of good individual example, or of personal sympathy with individual masters, could act effectually, unless there were something to counteract it constantly amongst the boys themselves.

"He, therefore, who wishes" (to use his own words) "really to improve public education would do well to direct his attention to this point, and to consider how there can be infused into a society of boys such elements as, without being too dissimilar to coalesce thoroughly with the rest, shall yet be so superior as to raise the

character of the whole. It would be absurd to say that any school has as yet fully solved this problem. I am convinced, however, that, in the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys, such as it exists in our great public schools, there is to be found the best means of answering it. This relation requires in many respects to be improved in its character; some of its features should be softened, others elevated ; but here, and here only, is the engine which can effect the end desired." (Journ. Ed. p. 292[1].)

In other words, he determined to use, and to improve to the utmost, the existing machinery of the Sixth Form, and of fagging; understanding, by the Sixth Form, the thirty boys who composed the highest class—"those who having risen to the highest form in the school, will probably be at once the oldest and the strongest, and the cleverest; and if the school be well ordered, the most respectable in application and general character:" and by fagging, "the power given by the supreme authorities of the school to the Sixth Form, to be exercised by them over the lower boys, for the sake of securing a regular government amongst the boys themselves, and avoiding the evils of anarchy, in other words, of the lawless tyranny of physical strength." (Journ. Ed. p. 286, 287[2].)

In many points he took the institution as he found it, and as he remembered it at Winchester. The responsibility of checking bad practices without the intervention of the masters, the occasional settlement of difficult cases of school-government, the subjection of brute force to some kind of order, involved in the maintenance of such an authority, had been more or less produced under the old system both at Rugby and elsewhere. But his zeal in its defence, and his confident reliance upon it

[1] p. 235 below.

[2] It has not been thought necessary here to enter at length into his defence of the general system of fagging, especially as it may be seen by those who are interested in the subject in the article in the ninth volume of the Quarterly Journal of Education, from which the above extracts have been taken, and which is now inserted at length in the volume of his Miscellaneous Works (pp. 222–235 in this volume).

as the keystone of his whole government, were eminently characteristic of himself. It was a point moreover on which the spirit of the age set strongly and increasingly against him, on which there was a general tendency to yield to the popular outcry, and on which the clamour, that at one time assailed him, was ready to fasten as a subject where all parties could concur in their condemnation. But he was immoveable: and, though on his first coming, he had felt himself called upon rather to restrain the authority of the Sixth Form from abuses, than to guard it from encroachments, yet now that the whole system was denounced as cruel and absurd, he delighted to stand forth as its champion. The power, which was most strongly condemned, of personal chastisement vested in the Præpostors over those who resisted their authority, he firmly maintained as essential to the general support of the good order of the place; and there was no obloquy, which he would not undergo in the protection of a boy, who had by due exercise of this discipline made himself obnoxious to the school, the parents, or the public.

But the importance which he attached to it arose from his regarding it not only as an efficient engine of discipline, but as the chief means of creating a respect for moral and intellectual excellence, and of diffusing his own influence through the mass of the school. Whilst he made the Præpostors rely upon his support in all just use of their authority, as well as on his severe judgment of all abuse of it, he endeavoured also to make them feel that they were actually fellow-workers with him for the highest good of the school, upon the highest principles and motives—that they had, with him, a moral responsibility and a deep interest in the real welfare of the place. Occasionally during his whole stay, and regularly at the beginning or end of every half-year during his later years, he used to make short addresses to them on their duties, or on the general state of the school, one of which, as an illustration of his general mode of speaking and acting with them, it has been thought worth while

to give, as nearly as his pupils could remember it, in the very words he used. After making a few remarks to them on their work in the lessons: "I will now," he proceeded, "say a few words to you as I promised. Speaking to you, as to young men who can enter into what I say, I wish you to feel that you have another duty to perform, holding the situation that you do in the school; of the importance of this I wish you all to feel sensible, and of the enormous influence you possess, in ways in which we cannot, for good or for evil, on all below you; and I wish you to see fully how many and great are the opportunities offered to you here of doing good—good, too, of lasting benefit to yourselves as well as to others; there is no place where you will find better opportunities for some time to come, and you will then have reason to look back to your life here with the greatest pleasure. You will soon find, when you change your life here for that at the Universities, how very few in comparison they are there, however willing you may then be, —at any rate during the first part of your life there. That there is good, working in the school, I most fully believe, and we cannot feel too thankful for it; in many individual instances, in different parts of the school, I have seen the change from evil to good—to mention instances would of course be wrong. The state of the school is a subject of congratulation to us all, but only so far as to encourage us to increased exertions; and I am sure we ought all to feel it a subject of most sincere thankfulness to God; but we must not stop here; we must exert ourselves with earnest prayer to God for its continuance. And what I have often said before I repeat now: what we must look for here is, 1st, religious and moral principles; 2ndly, gentlemanly conduct; 3rdly, intellectual ability."

Nothing, accordingly, so shook his hopes of doing good, as weakness or misconduct in the Sixth. "You should feel," he said, "like officers in the army or navy, whose want of moral courage would, indeed, be thought cowardice." "When I have

confidence in the Sixth," was the end of one of his farewell addresses, "there is no post in England which I would exchange for this; but if they do not support me, I must go."

It may well be imagined how important this was as an instrument of education, independently of the weight of his own personal qualities. Exactly at the age when boys begin to acquire some degree of self-respect, and some desire for the respect of others, they were treated with confidence by one, whose confidence they could not but regard as worth having; and found themselves in a station, where their own dignity could not be maintained, except by consistent good conduct. And exactly at a time when manly aspirations begin to expand, they found themselves invested with functions of government, great beyond their age, yet naturally growing out of their position; whilst the ground of solemn responsibility, on which they were constantly taught that their authority rested, had a general, though of course not universal, tendency to counteract any notions of mere personal self-importance.

"I cannot deny that you have an anxious duty—a duty which some might suppose was too heavy for your years. But it seems to me, the nobler as well as the truer way of stating the case to say, that it is the great privilege of this and other such institutions, to anticipate the common term of manhood; that by their whole training they fit the character for manly duties at an age when, under another system, such duties would be impracticable; that there is not imposed upon you too heavy a burden; but that you are capable of bearing, without injury, what to others might be a burden, and therefore to diminish your duties and lessen your responsibility would be no kindness, but a degradation—an affront to you and to the school." (Serm. vol. v. p. 59[1].)

3. Whilst he looked to the Sixth Form, as the ordinary corrective for the ordinary evils of a public school, he still felt that these evils from time to time developed themselves in a shape which demanded peculiar methods to meet them, and which may best be explained by one of his letters.

[1] p. 171 below.

"My own school experience has taught me the monstrous evil of a state of low principle prevailing amongst those who set the tone to the rest. I can neither theoretically nor practically defend our public school system, where the boys are left so very much alone to form a distinct society of their own, unless you assume that the upper class shall be capable of being in a manner μεσῖται between the masters and the mass of the boys, that is, shall be capable of receiving and transmitting to the rest, through their example and influence, right principles of conduct, instead of those extremely low ones which are natural to a society of boys left wholly to form their own standard of right and wrong. Now, when I get any in this part of the school who are not to be influenced—who have neither the will nor the power to influence others—not from being intentionally bad, but from very low wit, and extreme childishness or coarseness of character—the evil is so great, not only negatively but positively, (for their low and false views are greedily caught up by those below them,) that I know not how to proceed, or how to hinder the school from becoming a place of education for evil rather than for good, except by getting rid of such persons. And then comes the difficulty, that the parents who see their sons only at home—that is just where the points of character, which are so injurious here, are not called into action—can scarcely be brought to understand why they should remove them; and having, as most people have, only the most vague ideas as to the real nature of a public school, they cannot understand what harm they are receiving or doing to others, if they do not get into some palpable scrape, which very likely they never would do. More puzzling still is it, when you have many boys of this description, so that the evil influence is really very great, and yet there is not one of the set whom you would set down as a really bad fellow if taken alone; but most of them would really do very well if they were not together and in a situation where, unluckily, their age and size leads them, unavoidably, to form the laws and guide the opinion of their society; whereas, they are wholly unfit to lead others, and are so slow at receiving good influences themselves, that they want to be almost exclusively with older persons, instead of being principally with younger ones."

The evil undoubtedly was great, and the difficulty, which he describes in the way of its removal, tended to aggravate the

evil. When first he entered on his post at Rugby, there was a general feeling in the country, that so long as a boy kept himself from offences sufficiently enormous to justify expulsion, he had a kind of right to remain in a public school; that the worse and more troublesome to parents were their sons, the more did a public school seem the precise remedy for them; that the great end of a public school, in short, was to flog their vices out of bad boys. Hence much indignation was excited when boys were sent away for lesser offences; an unfailing supply of vicious sons was secured, and scrupulous parents were naturally reluctant to expose their boys to the influence of such associates.

His own determination had been fixed long before he came to Rugby, and it was only after ascertaining that his power in this respect would be absolute, that he consented to become a candidate for the post[1]. The retention of boys who were clearly incapable of deriving good from the system, or whose influence on others was decidedly and extensively pernicious, seemed to him not a necessary part of the trials of school, but an inexcusable and intolerable aggravation of them. "Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school," he said, "will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be." The remonstrances which he encountered both on public and private grounds were vehement and numerous. But on these terms alone had he taken his office; and he solemnly and repeatedly declared, that on no other terms could he hold it, or justify the existence of the public-school system in a Christian country.

The cases which fell under this rule included all shades of character from the hopelessly bad up to the really good, who yet from their peculiar circumstances might be receiving great injury from the system of a public school; grave moral offences frequently repeated; boys banded together in sets to the great

[1] See Letter to Dr Hawkins, in 1827 (p. 29 in this volume).

harm of individuals or of the school at large; overgrown boys, whose age and size gave them influence over others, and made them unfit subjects for corporal punishment, whilst the low place which, either from idleness or dulness, they held in the school, encouraged all the childish and low habits to which they were naturally tempted[1]. He would retain boys after offences, which considered in themselves would seem to many almost deserving of expulsion; he would request the removal of others for offences which to many would seem venial. In short, he was decided by the ultimate result on the whole character of the individual, or on the general state of the school.

It was on every account essential to the carrying out of his principle, that he should mark in every way the broad distinction between this kind of removal, and what in the strict sense of the word used to be called expulsion. The latter was intended by him as a punishment and lasting disgrace, was inflicted publicly and with extreme solemnity, was of very rare occurrence, and only for gross and overt offences. But he took pains to show that removal, such as is here spoken of, whether temporary or final, was not disgraceful or penal, but intended chiefly, if not solely, for a protection of the boy himself or his schoolfellows. Often it would be wholly unknown who were thus dismissed or why; latterly he generally allowed such cases to remain till the end of the half-year, that their removal might pass altogether unnoticed: the subjoined letters also to the head of a college and a private tutor, introducing such boys to their attention, are samples of the spirit in which he acted on these occasions[2].

[1] The admission of very young boys, e.g. under the age of ten, he earnestly deprecated, as considering them incapable of profiting by the discipline of the place.

[2] 1. To the Head of a college—"With regard to ———, if you had asked me about him half a year ago, I should have spoken of him in the highest terms in point of conduct and steady attention to his work; there has been nothing in all that has passed, beyond a great deal of party and

This system was not pursued without difficulty: the inconvenience attendant upon such removals was occasionally very great; sometimes the character of the boy may have been mistaken, the difficulty of explaining the true nature of the

schoolboy feeling, wrong, as I think, and exceedingly mischievous to a school, but from its peculiar character not likely to recur at college or in after life, and not reflecting permanently on a boy's principles or disposition. I think you will have in ——— a steady and gentlemanly man, who will read fairly and give no disturbance, and one who would well repay any interest taken in him by his tutor to direct him either in his work or conduct. He was one of those who would do a great deal better at college than at school; and of this sort there are many: as long as they are among boys, and with no closer personal intercourse with older persons than a public school affords, they are often wrong-headed and troublesome; but older society and the habits of more advanced life set them to rights again."

2. . . . . "Their conduct till they went away was as good as possible, and I feel bound to speak strongly in their favour with regard to their prospects at college; for there was more of foolishness than of vice in the whole matter, and it was their peculiar situation in the school, and the peculiar danger of their fault among us, that made us wish them to be removed. ——— was very much improved in his work, and did some of his business very well: since he left us he has been with a private tutor, and I shall be disappointed if he has not behaved there so as to obtain from him a very favourable character."

3. . . . . "——— was not a bad fellow at all, but had overgrown school in his body before he had outgrown it in wit; he was therefore the hero of the younger boys for his strength and prowess; and this sort of distinction was doing him harm, so that I advised his father to take him away, and to get him entered at the University as soon as possible."

4. To a private tutor.—"I am glad that you continue to like ———, nor am I surprised at it, for I always thought that school brought out the bad in his character, and repressed the good. There are some others in the same way whom you would find, I think, very satisfactory pupils, but who are not improving here."

5. "It is a good thing, I have no doubt, that ——— has left us; his is just one of those characters which cannot bear a public school, and may be saved and turned to great good by the humanities of private tuition."

"Ah!" he would say of a case of this kind, "if the Peninsular war were going on now, one would know what to do with him—a few years' hardship would bring a very nice fellow out of him."

transaction to parents was considerable; an exaggerated notion was entertained of the extent to which this view was carried.

To administer such a system required higher qualifications in a head-master than mere scholarship or mere zeal. What enabled him to do so successfully was, the force of his character; his determination to carry out his principles through a host of particular obstacles; his largeness of view, which endeavoured to catch the distinctive features of every case; the consciousness which he felt, and made others feel, of the uprightness and purity of his intentions. The predictions that boys who failed at school would turn out well with private tutors, were often acknowledged to be verified in cases where the removal had been most complained of; the diminution of corporal punishment in the school was necessarily much facilitated; a salutary effect was produced on the boys by impressing upon them, that even slight offences which came under the head-master's eye, were swelling the sum of misconduct which might end in removal; whilst many parents were displeased by the system, others were induced to send "as many boys," he said "and more than he sent away;" lastly, he succeeded in shaking the old notion of the conditions under which boys must be allowed to remain at school, and in impressing on others the standard of moral progress which he endeavoured himself to enforce.

The following letter to one of the assistant-masters expresses his mode of meeting the attacks to which he was exposed on the two subjects last mentioned.

"I do not choose to discuss the thickness of Præpostors' sticks, or the greater or less blackness of a boy's bruises, for the amusement of all the readers of the newspapers; nor do I care in the slightest degree about the attacks, if the masters themselves treat them with indifference. If they appear to mind them, or to fear their effect on the school, the apprehension in this, as in many other instances, will be likely to verify itself. For my own part, I confess that I will not condescend to justify the school against attacks, when I believe that it is going on not only not ill, but

positively well. Were it really otherwise, I think I should be as sensitive as any one, and very soon give up the concern. But these attacks are merely what I bargained for, so far as they relate to my conduct in the school, because they are directed against points on which my 'ideas' were fixed before I came to Rugby, and are only more fixed now; e.g. that the authority of the Sixth Form is essential to the good of the school, and is to be upheld through all obstacles from within and from without, and that sending away boys is a necessary and regular part of a good system, not as a punishment to one, but as a protection to others. Undoubtedly it would be a better system if there was no evil; but evil being unavoidable we are not a jail to keep it in, but a place of education where we must cast it out, to prevent its taint from spreading. Meanwhile let us mind our own work, and try to perfect the execution of our own 'ideas,' and we shall have enough to do, and enough always to hinder us from being satisfied with ourselves; but when we are attacked we have some right to answer with Scipio, who, scorning to reply to a charge of corruption, said, 'Hoc die cum Hannibale benè et feliciter pugnavi:'—we have done enough good and undone enough evil, to allow us to hold our assailants cheap."

II. The spirit, in which he entered on the instruction of the school, constituting as it did the main business of the place, may perhaps best be understood from a particular exemplification of it in the circumstances under which he introduced a prayer before the first lesson in the Sixth Form, over and above the general prayers read before the whole school. On the morning on which he first used it he said that he had been much troubled to find that the change from attendance on the death-bed of one of the boys in his house to his school-work had been very great: he thought that there ought not to be such a contrast, and that it was probably owing to the school-work not being sufficiently sanctified to God's glory; that if it was made really a *religious* work, the transition to it from a death-bed would be slight: he therefore intended for the future to offer a prayer before the first lesson, that the day's work might be undertaken and carried on solely to the glory of God

and their improvement,—that he might be the better enabled to do his work.

Under this feeling, all the lessons, in his eyes, and not only those which were more directly religious, were invested with a moral character; and his desire to raise the general standard of knowledge and application in the school was as great, as if it had been his sole object.

He introduced, with this view, a variety of new regulations; contributed liberally himself to the foundation of prizes and scholarships, as incentives to study, and gave up much of his leisure to the extra labour of new examinations for the various forms, and of a yearly examination for the whole school. The spirit of industry which his method excited in his better scholars, and more or less in the school at large, was considerable; and it was often complained that their minds and constitutions were overworked by premature exertion. Whether this was the case more at Rugby than in other schools, since the greater exertions generally required in all parts of education, it is difficult to determine. He himself would never allow the truth of it, though maintaining that it would be a very great evil if it were so. The Greek union of the ἀρετὴ γυμναστικὴ with the ἀρετὴ μουσικὴ, he thought invaluable in education, and he held that the freedom of the sports of public schools was particularly favourable to it; and whenever he saw that boys were reading too much, he always remonstrated with them, relaxed their work, and if they were in the upper part of the school, would invite them to his house in the half year or the holidays to refresh them.

He had a strong belief in the general union of moral and intellectual excellence. "I have now had some years' experience," he once said in preaching at Rugby, "I have known but too many of those who in their utter folly have said in their heart, there was no God; but the sad sight—for assuredly none can be more sad—of a powerful, an earnest, and an inquiring mind seeking truth, yet not finding it—the horrible

sight of good deliberately rejected, and evil deliberately chosen —the grievous wreck of earthly wisdom united with spiritual folly—I believe that it has been, that it is, that it may be—Scripture speaks of it, the experience of others has witnessed it; but I thank God that in my own experience I have never witnessed it yet; I have still found that folly or thoughtlessness have gone to evil; that thought and manliness have been united with faith and goodness." And in the case of boys his experience led him, to use his words in a letter to a friend, "more and more to believe in this connexion, for which divers reasons may be given. One, and a very important one, is, that ability puts a boy in sympathy with his teachers in the matter of his work, and in their delight in the works of great minds; whereas a dull boy has much more sympathy with the uneducated, and others to whom animal enjoyments are all in all." "I am sure," he used to say, "that in the case of boys the temptations of intellect are not comparable to the temptations of dulness;" and he often dwelt on "the fruit which he above all things longed for,—moral thoughtfulness,—the inquiring love of truth going along with the devoted love of goodness."

But for mere cleverness, whether in boys or men, he had no regard. "Mere intellectual acuteness," he used to say, in speaking (for example) of lawyers, "divested as it is, in too many cases, of all that is comprehensive and great and good, is to me more revolting than the most helpless imbecility, seeming to be almost like the spirit of Mephistopheles." Often when seen in union with moral depravity, he would be inclined to deny its existence altogether; the generation of his scholars, to which he looked back with the greatest pleasure, was not that which contained most instances of individual talent, but that which had altogether worked steadily and industriously. The university honours which his pupils obtained were very considerable, and at one time unrivalled by any school in England, and he was unfeignedly delighted whenever they occurred. But he never laid any stress upon them, and

strongly deprecated any system which would encourage the notion of their being the chief end to be answered by school education. He would often dwell on the curious alternations of cleverness or dulness in school generations, which seemed to baffle all human calculation or exertion. "What we ought to do is to send up boys who will not be plucked." A mere plodding boy was above all others encouraged by him. At Laleham he had once got out of patience, and spoken sharply to a pupil of this kind, when the pupil looked up in his face and said, "Why do you speak angrily, sir?—indeed I am doing the best that I can." Years afterwards he used to tell the story to his children, and said, "I never felt so much ashamed in my life—that look and that speech I have never forgotten." And though it would of course happen that clever boys, from a greater sympathy with his understanding, would be brought into closer intercourse with him, this did not affect his feeling, not only of respect, but of reverence to those who, without ability, were distinguished for high principle and industry. "If there be one thing on earth which is truly admirable, it is to see God's wisdom blessing an inferiority of natural powers, where they have been honestly, truly, and zealously cultivated." In speaking of a pupil of this character, he once said, "I would stand to that man *hat in hand;*" and it was his feeling after the departure of such an one that drew from him the most personal, perhaps the only personal praise which he ever bestowed on any boy in his Sermons. (See Sermons, vol. iii. pp. 352, 353.)[1]

[1] The subjoined letters will best show the feeling with which he regarded the academical successes or failures of his pupils:—

1. To a pupil who had failed in his examination at the University:—

. . . . . "I hardly know whether you would like my writing to you; yet I feel strongly disposed so far to presume on the old relation which existed between us, as to express my earnest hope that you will not attach too much importance to your disappointment, whatever it may have been, at the recent examination. I believe that I attach quite as much value as is reasonable to university distinctions; but it would be a grievous evil if the

This being his general view, it remains to unfold his ideas of school-instruction in detail.

1. That classical study should be the basis of intellectual teaching, he maintained from the first. "The study of lan-

good of a man's reading for three years were all to depend on the result of a single examination, affected as that result must ever in some degree be by causes independent of a man's intellectual excellence. I am saying nothing but what you know quite well already; still the momentary feeling of disappointment may tempt a man to do himself great injustice, and to think that his efforts have been attended by no proportionate fruit. I can only say, for one, that as far as the real honour of Rugby is concerned, it is the effort, an hundred times more than the issue of the effort, that is in my judgment a credit to the school; inasmuch as it shows that the men who go from here to the University do their duty there; and that is the real point, which alone to my mind reflects honour either on individuals or on societies; and if such a fruit is in any way traceable to the influence of Rugby, then I am proud and thankful to have had such a man as my pupil. I am almost afraid that you will think me impertinent in writing to you; but I must be allowed to feel more than a passing interest in those whom I have known and valued here; and in your case this interest was renewed by having had the pleasure of seeing you in Westmoreland more lately. I should be extremely glad if you can find an opportunity of paying us a visit ere long at Rugby."

2. To a pupil just before his examination at Oxford:—

"I have no other object in writing to you, than merely to assure you of my hearty interest about you at this time, when I suppose that the prospect of your examination is rising up closely before you. Yet I hope that you know me better than to think that my interest arises merely from the credit which the school may gain from your success, or that I should be in a manner personally disappointed if our men were not to gain what they are trying for. On this score I am very hard, and I know too well the uncertainties of examinations to be much surprised at any result. I am much more anxious, however, that you should not overwork yourself, nor unnerve your mind for after exertion. And I wish to say that if you would like change of air or scene for a single day, I should urge you to come down here, and if I can be of any use to you, when here, in examining you, that you may not think that you would be utterly losing your time in leaving Oxford, I shall be very glad to do it. I am a great believer in the virtues of a journey for fifty miles, for giving tone to the system where it has been overworked."

guage," he said, "seems to me as if it was given for the very purpose of forming the human mind in youth; and the Greek and Latin languages, in themselves so perfect, and at the same time freed from the insuperable difficulty which must attend any attempt to teach boys philology through the medium of their own spoken language, seem the very instruments, by which this is to be effected." But a comparison of his earlier and later letters will show how much this opinion was strengthened in later years, and how, in some respects, he returned to parts of the old system, which on his first arrival at Rugby he had altered or discarded. To the use of Latin verse, which he had been accustomed to regard as "one of the most contemptible prettinesses of the understanding," "I am becoming," he said, "in my old age more and more a convert." Greek and Latin grammars in English, which he introduced soon after he came, he found were attended with a disadvantage, because the rules which in Latin fixed themselves in the boys' memories, when learned in English, were forgotten. The changes in his views resulted on the whole from his

3. To a pupil who had been unsuccessful in an examination for the Ireland scholarship:—

"I am more than satisfied with what you have done in the Ireland; as to getting it, I certainly never should have got it myself, so I have no right to be surprised if my pupils do not."

4. To a pupil who had gained a first class at Oxford:—

"Your letter has given all your friends here great joy, and most heartily do I congratulate you upon it. Depend upon it, it is a gift of God, not to be gloried in, but deeply and thankfully to be prized, for it may be made to minister to His glory and to the good of His Church, which never more needed the aid of the Spirit of wisdom, as well as of the Spirit of love."

5. To another, on the same:—

"I must write you in one line my heartiest congratulations, for I should not like not to write on an occasion which I verily believe is to no one more welcome than it is to me. You, I know, will look onwards and upwards—and will feel that God's gifts and blessings bind us more closely to His service."

increasing conviction, that "it was not knowledge, but the means of gaining knowledge which he had to teach;" as well as by his increasing sense of the value of the ancient authors, as belonging really to a period of modern civilization like our own: the feeling that in them, "with a perfect abstraction from those particular names and associations, which are for ever biassing our judgment in modern and domestic instances, the great principles of all political questions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are perfectly discussed and illustrated with entire freedom, with most attractive eloquence, and with profoundest wisdom." (Serm. vol. iii. Pref. p. 13.)

From time to time, therefore, as in the Journal of Education, (vol. vii. p. 240), where his reasons are stated at length[1]; he raised his voice against the popular outcry, by which classical instruction was at that time assailed. And it was, perhaps, not without a share in producing the subsequent reaction in its favour, that the one Head-master, who, from his political connexions and opinions, would have been supposed most likely to yield to the clamour, was the one who made the most deliberate and decided protest against it.

2. But what was true of his union of new with old elements in the moral government of the school, applies no less to its intellectual management. He was the first Englishman who drew attention in our public schools to the historical, political, and philosophical value of philology and of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the mere verbal criticism and elegant scholarship of the last century. And besides the general impulse which he gave to miscellaneous reading, both in the regular examinations and by encouraging the tastes of particular boys for geology or other like pursuits, he incorporated the study of Modern History, Modern Languages, and Mathematics into the work of the school, which attempt, as it was the first of its kind, so it was at one time the chief topic of blame and praise in his system of instruction. The reading of a consider-

[1] Pp. 206–222, below.

able portion of modern history was effected without difficulty; but the endeavour to teach mathematics and modern languages, especially the latter, not as an optional appendage, but as a regular part of the school business, was beset with obstacles, which rendered his plan less successful than he had anticipated; though his wishes, especially for boys who were unable to reap the full advantage of classical studies, were, to a great extent, answered[1].

[1] The instruction in modern languages passed through various stages, of which the final result was that the several forms were taught by their regular masters, French and German in the three higher forms, and French in the forms below. How fully he was himself awake to the objections to this plan will appear from the subjoined letter in 1840; but still he felt that it yet remained to be shown how, for a continuance, *all* the boys of a large public school can be taught modern languages, except by English masters, and those the masters of their respective classical forms.

Extract from a Letter to the Earl of Denbigh, Chairman of the Trustees of the School:—

"I assume it certainly, as the foundation of all my view of the case, that boys at a public school never will learn to speak or pronounce French well under any circumstances. But to most of our boys, to read it will be of far more use than to speak it; and, if they learn it grammatically as a dead language, I am sure that whenever they have any occasion to speak it, as in going abroad for instance, they will be able to do it very rapidly. I think that if we can enable the boys to read French with facility, and to know the Grammar well, we shall do as much as can be done at a public school, and should teach the boys something valuable. And, in point of fact, I have heard men, who have left Rugby, speak with gratitude of what they have learnt with us in French and German.

"It is very true that our general practice here, as in other matters, does not come up to our theory; and I know too well that most of the boys would pass a very poor examination even in French Grammar. But so it is with their mathematics; and so it will be with any branch of knowledge that is taught but seldom, and is felt to be quite subordinate to the boy's main study. Only I am quite sure that if the boy's regular masters fail in this, a foreigner, be he who he may, would fail much more.

"I do not therefore see any way out of the difficulties of the question, and I believe sincerely that our present plan is the *least bad*, I will not say *the best*, that can be adopted; discipline is not injured as it is with foreign masters, and I think that something is taught, though but little. With

What has been said, relates rather to his system of instruction, than to the instruction itself. His personal share in the teaching of the younger boys was confined to the general examinations, in which he took an active part, and to two lessons which he devoted in every week to the hearing in succession every form in the school. These visits were too transient for the boys to become familiar with him; but great interest was always excited, and though the chief impression was of extreme fear, they were also struck by the way in which his examinations elicited from them whatever they knew, as well as by the instruction which they received merely from hearing his questions, or from seeing the effect produced upon him by their answers. But the chief source of his intellectual as of his moral influence over the school, was through the Sixth Form. To the rest of the boys he appeared almost exclusively as a master, to them he appeared almost exclusively as an instructor. The library tower, which stands over the great gateway of the school-buildings, and in which he heard the lessons of his own form, is the place to which his pupils will revert as the scene of their first real acquaintance with his powers of teaching, and with himself.

It has been attempted hitherto to represent his principles of education as distinct from himself, but in proportion as we approach his individual teaching, this becomes impracticable—the system is lost in the man—the recollections of the Headmaster of Rugby are inseparable from the recollections of the personal guide and friend of his scholars. They will at once recall those little traits, which however minute in themselves, will to them suggest a lively image of his whole manner. They will remember the glance, with which he looked round in the few moments of silence before the lesson began, and which

regard to German, I can speak more confidently; and I am sure that there we do facilitate a boy's after study of the language considerably, and enable him, with much less trouble, to read those many German books, which are so essential to his classical studies at the University."

seemed to speak his sense of his own position and of theirs also, as the heads of a great school; the attitude in which he stood, turning over the pages of Facciolati's Lexicon, or Pole's Synopsis, with his eye fixed upon the boy who was pausing to give an answer; the well known changes of his voice and manner, so faithfully representing the feeling within. They will recollect the pleased look and the cheerful "Thank you," which followed upon a successful answer or translation; the fall of his countenance with its deepening severity, the stern elevation of the eyebrows, the sudden "Sit down" which followed upon the reverse; the courtesy and almost deference to the boys, as to his equals in society, so long as there was nothing to disturb the friendliness of their relation; the startling earnestness with which he would check in a moment the slightest approach to levity or impertinence; the confidence with which he addressed them in his half-yearly exhortations; the expressions of delight with which, when they had been doing well, he would say that it was a constant pleasure to him to come into the library.

His whole method was founded on the principle of awakening the intellect of every individual boy. Hence it was his practice to teach by questioning. As a general rule, he never gave information, except as a kind of reward for an answer, and often withheld it altogether, or checked himself in the very act of uttering it, from a sense that those whom he was addressing had not sufficient interest or sympathy to entitle them to receive it. His explanations were as short as possible —enough to dispose of the difficulty and no more; and his questions were of a kind to call the attention of the boys to the real point of every subject and to disclose to them the exact boundaries of what they knew or did not know. With regard to younger boys, he said, "It is a great mistake to think that they should *understand* all they learn; for God has ordered that in youth the memory should act vigorously, independent of the understanding—whereas a man cannot usually recollect a thing unless he understands it." But in proportion to their

advance in the school he tried to cultivate in them a habit not only of collecting facts, but of expressing themselves with facility, and of understanding the principles on which their facts rested. "You come here," he said, "not to read, but to learn how to read;" and thus the greater part of his instructions were interwoven with the process of their own minds; there was a continual reference to their thoughts, an acknowledgement that, so far as their information and power of reasoning could take them, they ought to have an opinion of their own. He was evidently working not for, but with the form, as if they were equally interested with himself in making out the meaning of the passage before them. His object was to set them right, not by correcting them at once, but either by gradually helping them on to a true answer, or by making the answers of the more advanced part of the form serve as a medium, through which his instructions might be communicated to the less advanced. Such a system he thought valuable alike to both classes of boys. To those who by natural quickness or greater experience of his teaching were more able to follow his instructions, it confirmed the sense of the responsible position which they held in the school, intellectually as well as morally. To a boy less ready or less accustomed to it, it gave precisely what he conceived that such a character required. "He wants this," to use his own words, "and he wants it daily—not only to interest and excite him, but to dispel what is very apt to grow around a lonely reader not constantly questioned—a haze of indistinctness as to a consciousness of his own knowledge or ignorance; he takes a vague impression for a definite one, an imperfect notion for one that is full and complete, and in this way he is continually deceiving himself."

Hence, also, he not only laid great stress on original compositions, but endeavoured so to choose the subjects of exercises as to oblige them to read and lead them to think for themselves. He dealt at once a death blow to themes (as he expressed it) on "Virtus est bona res," and gave instead historical or geo-

graphical descriptions, imaginary speeches or letters, etymological accounts of words, or criticisms of books, or put religious and moral subjects in such a form as awakened a new and real interest in them; as, for example, not simply "carpe diem," or, "procrastination is the thief of time;" but, "carpere diem jubent Epicurei, jubet hoc idem Christus." So again, in selecting passages for translation from English into Greek or Latin, instead of taking them at random from the Spectator or other such works, he made a point of giving extracts, remarkable in themselves, from such English and foreign authors as he most admired, so as indelibly to impress on the minds of his pupils some of the most striking names and passages in modern literature. "Ha, very good!" was his well-known exclamation of pleasure when he met with some original thought; "is that entirely your own, or do you remember anything in your reading that suggested it to you?" Style, knowledge, correctness or incorrectness of statement or expression, he always disregarded in comparison with indication or promise of real thought. "I call that the best theme," he said, "which shows that the boy has read and thought for himself: that the next best, which shows that he has read several books, and digested what he has read; and that the *worst*, which shows that he has followed but one book, and followed that without reflection."

The interest in their work which this method excited in the boys was considerably enhanced by the respect which, even without regard to his general character, was inspired by the qualities brought out prominently in the ordinary course of lessons. They were conscious of (what was indeed implied in his method itself) the absence of display, which made it clear that what he said was to instruct them, not to exhibit his own powers; they could not but be struck by his never concealing difficulties and always confessing ignorance; acknowledging mistakes in his edition of Thucydides, and on Latin verses, mathematics, or foreign languages, appealing for help or information to boys whom he thought better qualified than

himself to give it. Even as an example, it was not without its use, to witness daily the power of combination and concentration on his favourite subjects which had marked him even from a boy; and which especially appeared in his illustrations of ancient by modern, and modern by ancient history. The wide discursiveness with which he brought the several parts of their work to bear on each other; the readiness with which he referred them to the sources and authorities of information, when himself ignorant of it; the eagerness with which he tracked them out when unknown—taught them how wide the field of knowledge really was. In poetry it was almost impossible not to catch something of the delight and almost fervour, with which, as he came to any striking passage, he would hang over it, reading it over and over again, and dwelling upon it for the mere pleasure which every word seemed to give him. In history or philosophy, events, sayings, and authors, would, from the mere fact that he had quoted them, become fixed in the memory of his pupils, and give birth to thoughts and inquiries long afterwards, which, had they been derived through another medium, would have been forgotten or remained unfruitful. The very scantiness with which he occasionally dealt out his knowledge, when not satisfied that the boys could enter into it, whilst it often provoked a half-angry feeling of disappointment in those who eagerly treasured up all that he uttered, left an impression that the source from which they drew was unexhausted and unfathomed, and to all that he did say gave a double value.

Intellectually, as well as morally, he felt that the teacher ought himself to be perpetually learning, and so constantly above the level of his scholars. "I am sure," he said, speaking of his pupils at Laleham, "that I do not judge of them or expect of them, as I should, if I were not taking pains to improve my own mind." For this reason, he maintained that no schoolmaster ought to remain at his post much more than fourteen or fifteen years, lest, by that time, he should have fallen behind

the scholarship of the age; and by his own reading and literary works he endeavoured constantly to act upon this principle himself. "For nineteen out of twenty boys," he said once to Archbishop Whately, in speaking of the importance not only of information, but real ability in assistant masters, (and his remark of course applied still more to the station which he occupied himself,) "ordinary men may be quite sufficient, but the twentieth, the boy of real talents, who is more important than the others, is liable even to suffer injury from not being early placed under the training of one whom he can, on close inspection, look up to as his superior in something besides mere knowledge. The dangers," he observed, "were of various kinds. One boy may acquire a contempt for the information itself, which he sees possessed by a man whom he feels nevertheless to be far below him. Another will fancy himself as much above nearly all the world as he feels he is above his own tutor; and will become self-sufficient and scornful. A third will believe it to be his duty, as a point of humility, to bring himself down intellectually to a level with one whom he feels bound to reverence, and thus there have been instances, when the veneration of a young man of ability for a teacher of small powers has been like a millstone round the neck of an eagle."

His practical talent as a scholar consisted in his insight into the general structure of sentences and the general principles of language, and in his determination to discard all those unmeaning phrases and forms of expression, by which so many writers of the last generation and boys of all generations endeavour to conceal their ignorance. In Greek and Latin composition his exceeding indifference to mere excellence of style, when unattended by anything better, made it difficult for him to bestow that praise, which was necessary to its due encouragement as a part of the school work, and he never was able to overcome the deficiency, which he always felt in composing or correcting verse exercises, even after his increased

conviction of their use as a mental discipline. But to prose composition in both languages he had from the first attached considerable importance, not only as the best means of acquiring a sound knowledge of the ancient authors, but of attaining a mastery over the English language also, by the readiness and accuracy of expression which it imparted. He retained too himself that happy facility for imitating the style of the Greek historians and philosophers, for which he was remarkable in youth, whilst his Latin prose was peculiar for combining the force of common Latinity with the vigour and simplicity of his own style—perfectly correct and idiomatic, yet not the language of Cicero or Livy, but of himself.

In the common lessons, his scholarship was chiefly displayed in his power of extempore translation into English. This he had possessed in a remarkable degree from the time that he was a boy at Winchester, where the practice of reading the whole passage from Greek or Latin into good English, without construing each particular sentence word by word, had been much encouraged by Dr Gabell, and in his youthful vacations during his Oxford course he used to enliven the sick-bed of his sister Susannah by the readiness with which in the evenings he would sit by her side, and translate book after book of the history of Herodotus. So essential did he consider this method to a sound study of the classics, that he published an elaborate defence of it in the Quarterly Journal of Education[1], and, when delivering his Modern History lectures at Oxford, where he much lamented the prevalence of the opposite system, he could not resist the temptation of protesting against it, with no other excuse for introducing the subject, than the mention of the Latin style of the middle-age historians. In itself, he looked upon it as the only means of really entering into the spirit of the ancient authors; and, requiring as he did besides, that the translation should be made into idiomatic English, and if possible, into that style of English which most corresponded to

[1] See pp. 212–218 below.

the period or the subject of the Greek or Latin writer in question, he considered it further as an excellent exercise in the principles of taste and in the knowledge and use of the English language, no less than of those of Greece and Rome. No one must suppose that these translations in the least resembled the paraphrases in his notes to Thucydides, which are avowedly not translations, but explanations; he was constantly on the watch for any inadequacy or redundancy of expression—the version was to represent, and no more than represent, the exact words of the original; and those who, either as his colleagues or his pupils, were present at his lessons or examinations, well know the accuracy with which every shade of meaning would be reproduced in a different shape, and the rapidity with which he would pounce on any mistake of grammar or construction, however dexterously concealed in the folds of a free translation.

In the subject of the lessons it was not only the language, but the author and the age which rose before him; it was not merely a lesson to be got through and explained, but a work which was to be understood, to be condemned, or to be admired. It was an old opinion of his, which, though much modified, was never altogether abandoned, that the mass of boys had not a sufficient appreciation of poetry, to make it worth while for them to read so much of the ancient poets, in proportion to prose writers, as was usual when he came to Rugby. But for some of them he had besides a personal distaste. The Greek tragedians, though reading them constantly, and portions of them with the liveliest admiration, he thought on the whole greatly overrated; and still more, the second-rate Latin poets, but whom he seldom used; and some, such as Tibullus and Propertius, never. "I do really think," he said, speaking of these last as late as 1842, "that any examiners incur a serious responsibility who require or encourage the reading of these books for scholarships; of all useless reading, surely the reading of indifferent poets is most

useless." And to some of them he had a yet deeper feeling of aversion. It was not till 1835 that he himself read the plays of Aristophanes, and though he was then much struck with the "Clouds," and ultimately introduced the partial use of his Comedies in the school, yet his strong moral disapprobation always interfered with his sense of the genius both of that poet and Juvenal.

But of the classical lessons generally his enjoyment was complete. When asked once whether he did not find the repetition of the same lessons irksome to him, "No," he said, "there is a constant freshness in them: I find something new in them every time that I go over them." The best proof of the pleasure which he took in them is the distinct impression which his scholars retained of the feeling, often rather implied than expressed, with which he entered into the several works; the enthusiasm with which, both in the public and private orations of Demosthenes, he would contemplate piece by piece "the luminous clearness" of the sentences; the affectionate familiarity which he used to show towards Thucydides, knowing as he did the substance of every single chapter by itself; the revival of youthful interest with which he would recur to portions of the works of Aristotle; the keen sense of a new world opening before him, with which in later years, with ever-increasing pleasure, he entered into the works of Plato;—above all, his child-like enjoyment of Herodotus, and that "fountain of beauty and delight which no man," he said, "can ever drain dry," the poetry of Homer. The simple language of that early age was exactly what he was most able to reproduce in his own simple and touching translations; and his eyes would fill with tears, when he came to the story which told how Cleobis and Bito, as a reward for their filial piety, lay down in the temple, and fell asleep and died.

To his pupils, perhaps, of ordinary lessons, the most attractive were the weekly ones on Modern History. He had always a difficulty in finding any work which he could use with

satisfaction as a text book. "Gibbon, which in many respects would answer the purpose so well, I dare not use." Accordingly, the work, whatever it might be, was made the ground-work of his own observations, and of other reading from such books as the school library contained. Russell's Modern Europe, for example, which he estimated very low, though perhaps from his own early acquaintance with it at Winchester, with less dislike than might have been expected, served this purpose for several years. On a chapter of this he would engraft, or cause the boys to engraft, additional information from Hallam, Guizot, or any other historian who happened to treat of the same period, whilst he himself, with that familiar interest which belonged to his favourite study of history and of geography, which he always maintained could only be taught in connexion with it, would by his searching and significant questions gather the thoughts of his scholars round the peculiar characteristics of the age or the country on which he wished to fix their attention. Thus, for example, in the Seven Years' War, he would illustrate the general connexion of military history with geography, by the simple instance of the order of Hannibal's successive victories; and then, chalking roughly on a board the chief points in the physical conformation of Germany, apply the same principle to the more complicated campaigns of Frederick the Great. Or, again, in a more general examination, he would ask for the chief events which occurred, for instance, in the year 15 of two or three successive centuries, and, by making the boys contrast or compare them together, bring before their minds the differences and resemblances in the state of Europe in each of the periods in question.

Before entering on his instructions in theology, which both for himself and his scholars had most peculiar interest, it is right to notice the religious character which more or less pervaded the rest of the lessons. When his pupils heard him in preaching recommend them "to note in any common work

that they read, such judgments of men and things, and such a tone in speaking of them as are manifestly at variance with the Spirit of Christ," (Serm. vol. iii. p. 116), or when they heard him ask "whether the Christian ever feels more keenly awake to the purity of the spirit of the Gospel, than when he reads the history of crimes related with no true sense of their evil," (Serm. vol. ii. p. 223), instances would immediately occur to them from his own practice, to prove how truly he felt what he said. No direct instruction could leave on their minds a livelier image of his disgust at moral evil, than the black cloud of indignation which passed over his face when speaking of the crimes of Napoleon, or of Cæsar, and the dead pause which followed, as if the acts had just been committed in his very presence. No expression of his reverence for a high standard of Christian excellence could have been more striking than the almost involuntary expressions of admiration which broke from him whenever mention was made of St Louis of France. No general teaching of the providential government of the world could have left a deeper impression, than the casual allusions to it, which occurred as they came to any of the critical moments in the history of Greece and Rome. No more forcible contrast could have been drawn between the value of Christianity and of heathenism, than the manner with which, for example, after reading in the earlier part of the lesson one of the Scripture descriptions of the Gentile world, "Now," he said, as he opened the Satires of Horace, "we shall see what it was."

Still it was in the Scripture[1] lessons that this found most scope. In the lower forms it was rather that more prominence was given to them, and that they were placed under better regulations, than that they were increased in amount. In the Sixth Form, besides the lectures on Sunday, he introduced two lectures on the Old or New Testament in the course of the week, so that a boy who remained there three years would

[1] For his own feeling about them, see Sermons, vol. iv. pp. 317, 321.

often have read through a great part of the New Testament, much of the Old Testament, and especially of the Psalms in the Septuagint version, and also committed much of them to memory; whilst at times he would deliver lectures on the history of the early Church, or of the English Reformation. In these lessons on the Scriptures he would insist much on the importance of familiarity with the very words of the sacred writers, and of the exact place where passages occurred; on a thorough acquaintance with the different parts of the story contained in the several Gospels, that they might be referred to at once; on the knowledge of the times when, and the persons to whom, the Epistles were written. In translating the New Testament, while he encouraged his pupils to take the language of the authorized version as much as possible, he was very particular in not allowing them to use words which fail to convey the meaning of the original, or which by frequent use have lost all definite meaning of their own—such as "edification," or "the Gospel." Whatever dogmatical instruction he gave was conveyed almost entirely in a practical or exegetical shape; and it was very rarely indeed that he made any allusion to existing parties or controversies within the Church of England. His own peculiar views, which need not be noticed in this place, transpired more or less throughout; but the great proportion of his interpretations were such as most of his pupils, of whatever opinions, eagerly collected and preserved for their own use in after life.

But more important than any details was the union of reverence and reality in his whole manner of treating the Scriptures, which so distinguished these lessons from such as may in themselves almost as little deserve the name of religious instruction as many lessons commonly called secular. The same searching questions, the same vividness which marked his historical lessons,—the same anxiety to bring all that he said home to their own feelings, which made him, in preparing them for confirmation, endeavour to make them say, "Christ

died for me," instead of the general phrase, "Christ died for us,"—must often, when applied to the natural vagueness of boys' notions on religious subjects, have dispelled it for ever. "He appeared to me," writes a pupil, whose intercourse with him never extended beyond these lessons, "to be remarkable for his habit of realizing everything that we are told in Scripture. You know how frequently we can ourselves, and how constantly we hear others go prosing on in a sort of religious cant or slang, which is as easy to learn as any other technical jargon, without seeing as it were by that faculty, which all possess, of picturing to the mind, and acting as if we really saw things unseen belonging to another world. Now he seemed to have the freshest view of our Lord's life and death that I ever knew a man to possess. His rich mind filled up the naked outline of the Gospel history;—it was to him the most interesting *fact* that has ever happened,—as real, as *exciting* (if I may use the expression) as any recent event in modern history of which the actual effects are visible." And all his comments, from whatever theory of inspiration they were given, were always made in a tone and manner that left an impression that from the book which lay before him he was really seeking to draw his rule of life, and, that whilst he examined it in earnest to find what its meaning was, when he had found it he intended to abide by it.

The effect of these instructions was naturally more permanent (speaking merely in an intellectual point of view) than the lessons themselves, and it was a frequent topic of censure that his pupils were led to take up his opinions before their minds were duly prepared for them. What was true of his method and intention in the simplest matters of instruction, was true of it as applied to the highest matters. Undoubtedly it was his belief that the minds of young men ought to be awakened to the greatness of things around them; and it was his earnest endeavour to give them what he thought the best means of attaining a firm hold upon truth. But it was always his wish

that his pupils should form their opinions for themselves, and not take them on trust from him. To his particular political principles he carefully avoided allusion, and it was rarely that his subjects for school compositions touched on any topics that could have involved, even remotely, the disputed points of party politics. In theological matters, partly from the nature of the case, partly from the peculiar aspect under which for the last six years of his life he regarded the Oxford school, he both expressed his thoughts more openly, and was more anxious to impress them upon his pupils; but this was almost entirely in the comparatively few sermons preached on what could be called controversial topics. In his intercourse indeed with his pupils after they had left the school, he naturally spoke with greater freedom on political or theological subjects, yet it was usually when invited by them, and, though he often deeply lamented their adoption of what he held to be erroneous views, he much disliked a mere unmeaning echo of his own opinions. "It would be a great mistake," he said, "if I were to try to make myself here into a Pope."

It was, however, an almost inevitable consequence of coming into contact with his teaching, and with the new world which it opened, that his pupils would often, on their very entrance into life, have acquired a familiarity and encountered a conflict with some of the most harassing questions of morals and religion. It would also often happen, that the increasing reverence, which they felt for him, would not only incline them to receive with implicit trust all that he said in the lessons or in the pulpit, but also to include in their admiration of the man, all that they could gather of his general views either from report or from his published works: whilst they would naturally look with distrust on the opposite notions in religion and politics, brought before them, as would often be the case, in close connexion with vehement attacks on him, which in most cases they could hardly help regarding as unfounded or unfair. Still the greater part of his pupils, while at school, were, after

the manner of English boys, altogether unaffected by his political opinions; and of those who most revered him, none in after life could be found who followed his views implicitly, even on the subjects on which they were most disposed to listen to him. But though no particular school of opinion grew up amongst them, the end of his teaching would be answered far more truly, (and it may suggest to those who know ancient history, similar results of similar methods in the hands of other eminent teachers,) if his scholars learned to form an independent judgment for themselves, and to carry out their opinions to their legitimate consequences,—to appreciate moral agreement amidst much intellectual difference, not only in each other or in him, but in the world at large;—and to adopt many, if not all of his principles, whilst differing widely in their application of them to existing persons and circumstances.

III. If there is any one place at Rugby more than another which was especially the scene of Dr Arnold's labours, both as a teacher and as a master, it is the School-chapel. Even its outward forms, from "the very cross at the top of the building[1]," on which he loved to dwell as a visible symbol of the Christian end of their education, to the vaults which he caused to be opened underneath for those who died in the school, must always be associated with his name. "I envy Winchester its antiquity," he said, "and am therefore anxious to do all that can be done to give us something of a venerable outside, if we have not the nobleness of old associations to help us." The five painted windows in the chapel were put up in great part at his expense, altogether at his instigation. The subject of the first of these, the great east window, he delighted to regard as "strikingly appropriate to a place of education," being "the Wise Men's Offering," and the first time after its erection that the chapter describing the Adoration of the Magi was read in the church service he took occasion to preach upon it one of his most remarkable sermons, that of "Christian Professions—

[1] MS. Sermon.

Offering Christ our best." (Serm. vol. iii. p. 112.) And as this is connected with the energy and vigour of his life, so the subject of the last, which he chose himself a short time before his death, is the confession of St. Thomas, on which he dwelt with deep solemnity in his last hours, as in his life he had dwelt upon it as the great consolation of doubting but faithful hearts, and as the great attestation of what was to him the central truth of Christianity, our Lord's divinity. Lastly, the monuments of those who died in the school during his government, and whose graves were the first ever made in the chapel; above all, his own, the monument and grave of the only head-master of Rugby who is buried within its walls, give a melancholy interest to the words with which he closed a sermon preached on the Founder's day, in 1833, whilst as yet the recently-opened vaults had received no dead within them:

"This roof, under which we are now assembled, will hold, it is probable, our children and our children's children; may they be enabled to think, as they shall kneel perhaps over the bones of some of us now here assembled, that they are praying where their fathers prayed; and let them not, if they mock in their day the means of grace here offered to them, encourage themselves with the thought that the place had long ago been profaned with equal guilt; that they are but infected with the spirit of our ungodliness[1]."

But of him especially it need hardly be said, that his chief interest in that place lay in the three hundred boys who, Sunday after Sunday, were collected, morning and afternoon, within its walls. "The veriest stranger," he said, "who ever attends divine service in this chapel, does well to feel something more than common interest in the sight of the congregation here assembled. But if the sight so interests a mere stranger, what should it be to ourselves, both to you and to me?" (Serm. vol. v. p. 403.) So he spoke within a month of his death, and to him, certainly, the interest was increased rather than lessened by its familiarity. There was the fixed expression of

[1] See p. 138.

countenance, exhibiting the earnest attention with which, after the service was over, he sat in his place looking at the boys as they filed out one by one, in the orderly and silent arrangement which succeeded, in the latter part of his stay, to the public calling over of their names in the chapel[1]. There was the complete image of his union of dignity and simplicity, of manliness and devotion, as he performed the chapel service, especially when at the communion table he would read or rather repeat almost by heart the Gospel and Epistle of the day, with the impressiveness of one who entered into it equally with his whole spirit and also with his whole understanding. There was the visible animation with which by force of long association he joined in the musical parts of the service, to which he was by nature wholly indifferent, as in the chanting of the Nicene Creed, which was adopted in accordance with his conviction that creeds in public worship (Serm. vol. iii. p. 310) ought to be used as triumphant hymns of thanksgiving; or still more in the Te Deum, which he loved so dearly, and when his whole countenance would be lit up at his favourite verse—"When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers."

From his own interest in the service naturally flowed his anxiety to impart it to his scholars: urging them in his later sermons, or in his more private addresses, to join in the responses, at times with such effect, that at least from all the older part of the school the responses were very general. The very course of the ecclesiastical year would often be associated in their minds with their remembrance of the peculiar feeling, with which they saw that he regarded the greater festivals, and of the almost invariable connexion of his sermons with the services of the day. The touching recollections of those amongst the living or the dead, whom he loved or honoured, which passed through his mind as he spoke of All Saints' Day, and, whenever it was possible, of its accompanying feast, now

[1] See "Tom Brown's School Days."

no longer observed, All Souls' Day :—and the solemn thoughts of the advance of human life, and of the progress of the human race, and of the Church, which were awakened by the approach of Advent,—might have escaped a careless observer: but it must have been difficult for any one not to have been struck by the triumphant exultation of his whole manner on the recurrence of Easter Day. Lent was marked during his last three years, by the putting up of boxes in the chapel and the boarding-houses, to receive money for the poor, a practice adopted not so much with the view of relieving any actual want, as of affording the boys an opportunity for self-denial and almsgiving[1].

He was anxious to secure the administration of the rite of confirmation, if possible, once every two years; when the boys were prepared by himself and the other masters in their different boarding houses, who each brought up his own division of pupils on the day of the ceremony; the interest of which was further enhanced, during his earlier years, by the presence of the late Bishop Ryder[2], for whom he entertained a great

[1] He feared, however, to introduce more religious services, than he thought the boys would bear without a sense of tedium or formality, on which principle he dropped an existing practice of devoting all the lessons in Passion Week to the New Testament; and always hesitated to have a chapel service on such festivals as did not fall on Sundays, though in the last year of his life he made an exception with regard to Ascension Day.

[2] The following extract from a sermon preached in consequence of the delay of confirmation may serve to illustrate as well his general feeling on the subject, as his respect for the individual.

. . . . . "And while I say this, it is impossible not to remember to what cause this disappointment has been owing, namely to the long illness and death of the late excellent Bishop of this diocese. This is neither the place nor the congregation for a funeral eulogy on that excellent person; we knew him too little, and were too much removed out of the ordinary sphere of his ministry, to be able to bear the best witness to him. Yet many here, I think, will remember the manner in which he went through the rite of confirmation in this chapel three years ago; the earnestness and kindness of his manner, the manifest interest which he felt in the service in which he was ministering. And though, as I said, we were

respect, and latterly by the presence of his intimate friend, Archbishop Whately. The Confirmation Hymn of Dr Hinds, which was used on these occasions, became so endeared to his recollections, that, when travelling abroad late at night, he would have it repeated or sung to him. One of the earliest public addresses to the school was that made before the first confirmation, and published in the second volume of his sermons; and he always had something of the kind (over and above the Bishop's charge) either before or after the regular Chapel service.

The Communion was celebrated four times a year. At first some of the Sixth Form boys alone were in the habit of attending; but he took pains to invite to it boys in all parts of the school, who had any serious thoughts, so that the number out of two hundred and ninety or three hundred boys, was occasionally a hundred and never less than seventy. To individual

comparatively strangers to him, yet we had heard enough of him to receive, without one jarring feeling, the full impression of his words and manner; we knew that as these were solemn and touching, so they were consistent and sincere; they were not put on for the occasion, nor yet, which is a far more common case, did they spring out of the occasion. It was not the mere natural and momentary feeling which might have arisen even in a careless mind, while engaged in a work so peculiarly striking; but it was truly the feeling not of the occasion but of the man. He but showed himself to us as he was, and thus we might and may dwell with pleasure on the recollection long after the immediate effect was over; and may think truly that, when he told us how momentous were the interests involved in the promises and prayers of that service, he told us no more than he himself most earnestly believed; he urged us to no other faith, to no other course of living, than that which by God's grace he had long made his own. It is a great blessing to God's church when they who are called to the higher offices of the ministry in it, thus give to their ministry the weight, not of their words only, but of their lives. Still we must remember that the care of our souls is our own,—that God's means of grace and warnings furnished us by the ministry of his church, are no way dependent upon the personal character of the minister; that confirmation, with all its opportunities, is still the same point in our lives, by whomsoever it may be administered."

boys he rarely spoke on the subject, from the fear of its becoming a matter of form or favour; but in his sermons he dwelt upon it much, and would afterwards speak with deep emotion of the pleasure and hope which a larger attendance than usual would give him. It was impossible to hear these exhortations or to see him administer it, without being struck by the strong and manifold interest, which it awakened in him; and at Rugby it was of course more than usually touching to him from its peculiar relation to the school. When he spoke of it in his sermons, it was evident that amongst all the feelings which it excited in himself, and which he wished to impart to others, none was so prominent as the sense that it was a communion not only with God, but with one another, and that the thoughts thus roused should act as a direct and especial counterpoise to that false communion and false companionship, which, as binding one another not to good but to evil, he believed to be the great source of mischief in the school at large. And when,—especially to the very young boys, who sometimes partook of the Communion,—he bent himself down with looks of fatherly tenderness, and glistening eyes, and trembling voice, in the administration of the elements, it was felt, perhaps, more distinctly than at any other time, how great was the sympathy which he felt with the earliest advances to good in every individual boy.

That part of the Chapel service, however, which, at least to the world at large, is most connected with him, as being the most frequent and most personal of his ministrations, was his preaching. Sermons had occasionally been preached by the Head-master of this and other public schools to their scholars before his coming to Rugby; but (in some cases from the peculiar constitution or arrangement of the school) it had never before been considered an essential part of the Head-master's office. The first half-year he confined himself to delivering short addresses, of about five minutes' length, to the boys of his own house. But from the second half-year he

began to preach frequently; and from the autumn of 1831, when he took the chaplaincy[1] which had then become vacant, he preached almost every Sunday of the school year to the end of his life.

It may be allowable to dwell for a few moments on a practice which has since been followed, whenever it was practicable, in the other great public schools, and on sermons which, as they were the first of their kind, will also be probably long looked upon as models of their kind, in English preaching. They were preached always in the afternoon, and lasted seldom more than twenty minutes, sometimes less; a new one almost every time. "A man could hardly," he said, "preach on the same subject, without writing a better sermon than he had written a few years before." However much they may have occupied his previous thoughts, they were written almost invariably between the morning and afternoon service; and though often under

[1] Extract from a letter to the Trustees, applying for the situation:—"I had no knowledge nor so much as the slightest suspicion of the vacancy," he writes, "till I was informed of it last night. But the importance of the point is so great that I most respectfully crave the indulgence of the Trustees to the request I venture to submit to them, namely, that if they see no objection to it I may myself be appointed to the chaplaincy, waiving, of course, altogether the salary attached to the office. Whoever is chaplain, I must ever feel myself, as Head-master, the real and proper religious instructor of the boys. No one else can feel the same interest in them, and no one else (I am not speaking of myself personally, but merely by virtue of my situation) can speak to them with so much influence. In fact, it seems to me the natural and fitting thing, and the great advantage of having a separate chapel for the school—that the master of the boys should be officially as well as really their pastor, and that he should not devolve on another, however well qualified, one of his own most peculiar and solemn duties. This, however, is a general question, which I only venture so far to enter upon, in explaining my motives in urging and requesting, in this present instance, that the Trustees would present me to the Bishop to be licensed, allowing me altogether to decline the salary, because I consider that I am paid for my services already; and that being Head-master and clergyman, I am bound to be the religious instructor of my pupils by virtue of my situation."

such stress of time that the ink of the last sentence was hardly dry when the chapel bell ceased to sound, they contain hardly a single erasure, and the manuscript volumes remain as accessible a treasure to their possessors as if they were printed. When he first began to preach, he felt that his chief duty was to lay bare, in the plainest language that he could use, the sources of the evils of schools, and to contrast them with the purity of the moral law of Christianity. "The spirit of Elijah," he said, "must ever precede the spirit of Christ." But as he advanced, there is a marked contrast between the severe tone of his early sermons in the second volume, when all was as yet new to him, except the knowledge of the evil which he had to combat, and the gentler tone which could not but be inspired by his greater familiarity, both with his work and his pupils—between the direct attack on particular faults which marks the course of Lent Sermons in 1830, and the wish to sink the mention of particular faults in the general principle of love to Christ and abhorrence of sin, which marks the summary of his whole school experience in the last sermon which he ever preached. When he became the constant preacher, he made a point of varying the more directly practical addresses with sermons on the interpretation of Scripture, on the general principles and evidences of Christianity, or on the dangers of their after life, applicable chiefly to the elder boys. Amongst these last should be noticed those which contained more or less the expression of his sentiments on the principles to which he conceived his pupils liable hereafter to be exposed at Oxford, and most of which, as being of a more general interest, he selected for publication in the third and fourth volumes. That their proportion to those that are published affords no measure of their proportion to those that are unpublished, may be seen at once by reference to the year's course in the fifth volume, which out of thirty-four, contains only four, which could possibly be included in this class. That it was not his own intention to make them either personal or controversial, appears from an

explanation to a friend of a statement, which, in 1839, appeared in the newspapers, that he "had been preaching a course of sermons against the Oxford errors."—"The origin of the paragraph was simply this: that I preached two in February, showing that the exercise of our own judgment was not inconsistent with the instruction and authority of the Church, or with individual modesty and humility [viz., the thirty-first and thirty-second in vol. iv.]. They were not in the least controversial, and neither mentioned nor alluded to the Oxford writers. And I have preached only these two which could even be supposed to bear upon their doctrines. Indeed, I should not think it right, except under very different circumstances from present ones, to occupy the boys' time or thoughts with such controversies." The general principles, accordingly, which form the groundwork of all these sermons, are such as are capable of a far wider application than to any particular school of English opinion, and often admit of direct application to the moral condition of the school. But the quick ears of boys no doubt were always ready to give such sermons a more personal character than he had intended, or perhaps had even in his mind at the moment; and at times, when the fear of these opinions was more forcibly impressed upon him, the allusion and even mention of the writers in question is so direct, that no one could mistake it.

But it was of course in their direct practical application to the boys, that the chief novelty and excellence of his sermons consisted. Though he spoke with almost conversational plainness on the peculiar condition of public schools, his language never left an impression of familiarity, rarely of personal allusion. In cases of notorious individual misconduct, he generally shrunk from any pointed mention of them, and on one occasion when he wished to address the boys on an instance of untruthfulness which had deeply grieved him, he had the sermon before the regular service, in order to be alone in the Chapel with the boys, without the presence even of the

other masters[1]. Earnest and even impassioned as his appeals were, himself at times almost overcome with emotion, there was yet nothing in them of excitement. In speaking of the occasional deaths in the school, he would dwell on the general solemnity of the event, rather than on any individual or agitating details; and the impression thus produced, instead of belonging to the feeling of the moment, has become part of an habitual rule for the whole conduct of life. Often he would speak with severity and bitter disappointment of the evils of the place; yet there was hardly ever a sermon which did not contain some words of encouragement. "I have never," he said in his last sermon, "wished to speak with exaggeration: it seems to me as unwise as it is wrong to do so. I think that it is quite right to observe what is hopeful in us as well as what is threatening; that general confessions of unmixed evil are deceiving and hardening, rather than arousing; that our evil never looks so really dark as when we contrast it with anything which there may be in us of good." (Serm., vol. v. p. 460.)

Accordingly, even from the first, and much more in after years, there was blended with his sterner tone a strain of affectionate entreaty—an appeal to principles, which could be appreciated only by a few—exhortations to duties, such as self-denial, and visiting the poor, which some at least might practise, whilst none could deny their obligation. There also appeared most evidently—what indeed pervaded his whole

[1] On another occasion, the practice of drinking having prevailed to a great extent in the school, he addressed the boys at considerable length from his place in the great school, saying that he should have spoken to them from the pulpit, but that as there were others present in the Chapel, he wished to hide their shame. And then, (says one who was present,) "in a tone of the deepest feeling, as if it wrung his inmost heart to confess the existence of such an evil amongst us," he dwelt upon the sin and the folly of the habit, even where intoxication was not produced—its evil effects both on body and mind—the folly of fancying it to be manly—its general effect on the school.

school life—the more than admiration, with which he regarded those who struggled against the stream of school opinion, and the abiding comfort which they afforded him. In them he saw not merely good boys and obedient scholars, but the companions of everything high and excellent, with which his strong historical imagination peopled the past, or which his lively sense of things unseen realized in the invisible world. There were few present in the Chapel who were not at least for the moment touched, when, in one of his earliest sermons, he closed one of these earnest appeals with the lines from Milton which always deeply moved him,—the blessing on Abdiel.

But more than either matter or manner of his preaching, was the impression of himself. Even the mere readers of his sermons will derive from them the history of his whole mind, and of his whole management of the school. But to his hearers it was more than this. It was the man himself, there more than in any other place, concentrating all his various faculties and feelings on one sole object, combating face to face the evil, with which directly or indirectly he was elsewhere perpetually struggling. He was not the preacher or the clergyman who had left behind all his usual thoughts and occupations as soon as he had ascended the pulpit. He was still the scholar, the historian, and theologian, basing all that he said, not indeed ostensibly, but consciously, and often visibly, on the deepest principles of the past and present. He was still the instructor and the schoolmaster, only teaching and educating with increased solemnity and energy. He was still the simple-hearted and earnest man, labouring to win others to share in his own personal feelings of disgust at sin, and love of goodness, and to trust to the same faith, in which he hoped to live and die himself.

It is difficult to describe, without seeming to exaggerate, the attention with which he was heard by all above the very young boys. Years have passed away, and many of his pupils can look back to hardly any greater interest than that with

which, for those twenty minutes, Sunday after Sunday, they sat beneath that pulpit, with their eyes fixed upon him, and their attention strained to the utmost to catch every word that he uttered. It is true, that, even to the best, there was much, and to the mass of boys, the greater part of what he said, that must have passed away from them as soon as they had heard it, without any corresponding fruits. But they were struck, as boys naturally would be, by the originality of his thoughts, and what always impressed them as the beauty of his language; and in the substance of what he said, much that might have seemed useless, because for the most part impracticable to boys, was not without its effect in breaking completely through the corrupt atmosphere of school opinion, and exhibiting before them once every week an image of high principle and feeling, which they felt was not put on for the occasion, but was constantly living amongst them. And to all it must have been an advantage, that, for once in their lives, they had listened to sermons, which none of them could associate with the thought of weariness, formality, or exaggeration. On many there was left an impression to which, though unheeded at the time, they recurred in after life. Even the most careless boys would sometimes, during the course of the week, refer almost involuntarily to the sermon of the past Sunday, as a condemnation of what they were doing. Some, whilst they wonder how it was that so little practical effect was produced upon themselves at the time, yet retain the recollection, (to give the words of one who so describes himself,) that, "I used to listen to them from first to last with a kind of awe, and over and over again could not join my friends at the chapel door, but would walk home to be alone; and I remember the same effects being produced by them, more or less, on others whom I should have thought as hard as stones, and on whom I should think Arnold looked as some of the worst boys in the school."

IV. Although the Chapel was the only place in which, to the school at large, he necessarily appeared in a purely pastoral

and personal relation—yet this relation extended in his view to his whole management of his scholars; and he conceived it to be his duty and that of the other masters to throw themselves, as much as possible, into the way of understanding and entering into the feelings of the boys, not only in their official intercourse, but always. When he was first appointed at Rugby, his friends had feared that the indifference which he felt towards characters and persons, with whom he had no especial sympathy, would have interfered with his usefulness as Headmaster. But in the case of boys, a sense of duty supplied the want of that interest in character, as such, which, in the case of men, he possessed but little. Much as there was in the peculiar humour of boys which his own impatience of moral thoughtlessness, or of treating serious or important subjects with anything like ridicule or irony, prevented him from fully appreciating, yet he truly felt, that the natural youthfulness and elasticity of his constitution gave him a great advantage in dealing with them.—"When I find that I cannot run up the library stairs," he said, "I shall know that it is time for me to go."

Thus traits and actions of boys, which to a stranger would have told nothing, were to him highly significant. His quick and far-sighted eye became familiar with the face and manner of every boy in the school. "Do you see," he said to an assistant-master who had recently come, "those two boys walking together; I never saw them together before; you should make an especial point of observing the company they keep;—nothing so tells the changes in a boy's character." The insight which he thus acquired into the general characteristics of boyhood, will not be doubted by any reader of his sermons; and his scholars used sometimes to be startled by the knowledge of their own notions, which his speeches to them implied. "Often and often," says one of them, "have I said to myself, 'If it was one of ourselves who had just spoken, he could not more completely have known and understood our

thoughts and ideas.'" And, though it might happen that his opinion of boys would, like his opinions of men, be too much influenced by his disposition to judge of the whole from some one prominent feature, and though his fixed adherence to general rules might sometimes prevent him from making exceptions where the case required it; yet few can have been long familiar with him, without being struck by the distinctness, the vividness, and, in spite of great occasional mistakes, the very general truth and accuracy of his delineation of their individual characters, or the readiness with which, whilst speaking most severely of a mass of boys, he would make allowances, and speak hopefully in any particular instance that came before him. Often before any other eye had discerned it, he saw the germs of coming good or evil, and pronounced confident decisions, doubted at the time, but subsequently proved to be correct; so that those who lived with him described themselves as trusting to his opinions of boys as to divinations, and feeling as if by an unfavourable judgment their fate was sealed.

His relation to the boarders in his own house (called by distinction the School-house, and containing between sixty and seventy boys) naturally afforded more scope for communication than with the rest of the school. Besides the opportunities which he took of showing kindness and attention to them in his own family, in cases of distress or sickness, he also made use of the preparation for confirmation for private conversation with them; and during the later years of his life was accustomed to devote an hour or more in the evening to seeing each of them alone by turns, and talking on such topics as presented themselves, leading them if possible to more serious subjects. The general management of the house, both from his strong dislike to intruding on the privacy even of the youngest, and from the usual principles of trust on which he proceeded, he left as much as possible to the Præpostors. Still his presence and manner when he appeared officially, either on special calls, or on the stated occasions of calling over their names twice a

day, was not without its effect. One of the scenes that most lives in the memory of his school-house pupils is their night muster in the rudely-lighted hall—his tall figure at the head of the files of boys ranged on each side of the long tables, whilst the prayers were read by one of the Præpostors, and a portion of Scripture by himself. This last was a practice, which he introduced soon after his arrival, when, on one of these occasions, he spoke strongly to the boys on the necessity of each reading some part of the Bible every day, and then added, that as he feared that many would not make the rule for themselves, he should for the future always read a passage every evening at this time. He usually brought in his Greek Testament, and read about half a chapter in English, most frequently from the close of St John's Gospel; when from the Old Testament, especially his favourite Psalms, the 19th for example, and the 107th, and the others relating to the beauty of the natural world. He never made any comment; but his manner of reading impressed the boys considerably; and it was observed by some of them, shortly after the practice was commenced, that they had never understood the Psalms before. On Sunday nights he read a prayer of his own, and before he began to preach regularly in the Chapel, delivered the short addresses which have been before mentioned, and which he resumed, in addition to his other work on Sundays, during the last year and a half of his life.

With the boys in the Sixth Form his private intercourse was comparatively frequent, whether in the lessons, or in questions of school government, or in the more familiar relation in which they were brought to him in their calls before and after the holidays, their dinners with him during the half year, and the visits which one or more used by turns to pay to him in Westmoreland during part of the vacation. But with the greater part of the school it was almost entirely confined to such opportunities as arose out of the regular course of school discipline or instruction, and the occasional invitations to his

house of such amongst the younger boys, as he could find any reason or excuse for asking.

It would thus often happen in so large a number that a boy would leave Rugby without any personal communication with him at all; and even in the higher part of the school, those who most respected him would sometimes complain, even with bitterness, that he did not give them greater opportunities of asking his advice, or himself offer more frequently to direct their studies and guide their inquiries. Latterly, indeed, he communicated with them more frequently, and expressed himself more freely both in public and private on the highest subjects. But he was always restrained from speaking much or often, both from the extreme difficulty which he felt in saying anything without a real occasion for it, and also from his principle of leaving as much as possible to be filled up by the judgment of the boys themselves, and from his deep conviction that, in the most important matters of all, the movement must come not from without but from within. And it certainly was the case that, whenever he did make exceptions to this rule, and spoke rather as their friend than their master, the simplicity of his words, the rareness of their occurrence, and the stern background of his ordinary administration gave a double force to all that was said.

Such, for example, would be the effect of his speaking of swearing to a boy, not so much in anger or reproof, as assuring him how every year he would learn to see more and more how foolish and disgusting such language was; or again, the distinction he would point out to them between mere amusement and such as encroached on the next day's duties, when, as he said, "it immediately becomes what St Paul calls *revelling*." Such also would be the impression of his severe rebukes for individual faults, showing by their very shortness and abruptness his loathing and abhorrence of evil. "Nowhere," he said, in speaking to some boys on bad behaviour during prayers at their boarding-house, "Nowhere is Satan's work more evidently

manifest than in turning holy things to ridicule." Such also were the cases, in which boys, who were tormented while at school with sceptical doubts, took courage at last to unfold them to him, and were almost startled to find the ready sympathy with which, instead of denouncing them as profane, he entered into their difficulties, and applied his whole mind to assuage them. So again, when dealing with the worst class of boys, in whom he saw indications of improvement, he would grant indulgences, which on ordinary occasions he would have denied, with a view of encouraging them by signs of his confidence in them; and at times on discovering cases of vice, he would, instead of treating them with contempt or extreme severity, tenderly allow the force of the temptation, and urge it upon them as a proof brought home to their own minds, how surely they must look for help out of themselves.

In his preparation of boys for confirmation he followed the same principle. The printed questions which he issued for them were intended rather as guides to their thoughts than as necessary to be formally answered; and his own interviews with them were very brief. But the few words which he then spoke—the simple repetition, for example, of the promise made to prayer, with his earnest assurance, that if that was not true, nothing was true; if anything in the Bible could be relied upon, it was that—have become the turning point of a boy's character, and graven on his memory as a law for life.

But, independently of particular occasions of intercourse, there was a deep under current of sympathy which extended to almost all, and which from time to time broke through the reserve of his outward manner. In cases where it might have been thought that tenderness would have been extinguished by indignation, he was sometimes so deeply affected in pronouncing sentence of punishment on offenders, as to be hardly able to speak. "I felt," he said once of some great fault of which he had heard in one of the Sixth Form—and his eyes filled with tears as he spoke, "as if it had been one of my own

children, and, till I had ascertained that it was really true, I mentioned it to no one, not even to any of the masters." And this feeling began, before he could have had any personal knowledge of them. "If he should turn out ill," he said of a young boy of promise to one of the assistant masters, and his voice trembled with emotion as he spoke, "I think it would break my heart." Nor were any thoughts so bitter to him, as those suggested by the innocent faces of little boys as they first came from home,—nor any expressions of his moral indignation deeper, than when he heard of their being tormented or tempted into evil by their companions. "It is a most touching thing to me," he said once in the hearing of one of his former pupils, on the mention of some new comers, "to receive a new fellow from his father—when I think what an influence there is in this place for evil as well as for good. I do not know anything which affects me more." His pupil, who had, on his own first coming, been impressed chiefly by the severity of his manner, expressed some surprisé, adding, that he should have expected this to wear away with the succession of fresh arrivals. "No," he said, "if ever I could receive a new boy from his father without emotion, I should think it was high time to be off."

What he felt thus on ordinary occasions, was heightened of course when anything brought strongly before him any evil in the school. "If this goes on," he wrote to a former pupil on some such occasion, "it will end either my life at Rugby, or my life altogether." "How can I go on," he said, "with my Roman History? There all is noble and high-minded, and here I find nothing but the reverse." The following extract from a letter to his friend, Sir T. Pasley, describes this feeling.

"Since I began this letter, I have had some of the troubles of school-keeping; and one of those specimens of the evil of boy-nature, which makes me always unwilling to undergo the responsibility of advising any man to send his son to a public school. There has been a system of persecution carried on by the bad

against the good, and then, when complaint was made to me, there came fresh persecution on that very account; and divers instances of boys joining in it out of pure cowardice, both physical and moral, when if left to themselves they would have rather shunned it. And the exceedingly small number of boys, who can be relied on for active and steady good on these occasions, and the way in which the decent and respectable of ordinary life (Carlyle's 'Shams') are sure on these occasions to swim with the stream, and take part with the evil, makes me strongly feel exemplified what the Scriptures say about the strait gate and the wide one,—a view of human nature, which, when looking on human life in its full dress of decencies and civilizations, we are apt, I imagine, to find it hard to realize. But here, in the nakedness of boy-nature, one is quite able to understand how there could not be found so many as even ten righteous in a whole city. And how to meet this evil I really do not know; but to find it thus rife after I have been [so many] years fighting against it, is so sickening, that it is very hard not to throw up the cards in despair, and upset the table. But then the stars of nobleness, which I see amidst the darkness, in the case of the few good, are so cheering, that one is inclined to stick to the ship again, and have another good try at getting her about."

V. As, on the one hand, his interest and sympathy with the boys far exceeded any direct manifestation of it towards them, so, on the other hand, the impression which he produced upon them was derived, not so much from any immediate intercourse or conversation with him, as from the general influence of his whole character, displayed consistently whenever he appeared before them. This influence, with its consequent effects, was gradually on the increase during the whole of his stay. From the earliest period, indeed, the boys were conscious of something unlike what they had been taught to imagine of a schoolmaster, and by many, a lasting regard was contracted for him; but it was not till he had been in his post some years, that there arose that close bond of union which characterized his relation to his elder pupils; and it was, again, not till later still that this feeling extended itself, more

or less, through the mass of the school, so that, in the higher forms at least, it became the fashion (so to speak) to think and talk of him with pride and affection.

The liveliness and simplicity of his whole behaviour must always have divested his earnestness of any appearance of moroseness and affectation. "He calls us *fellows*," was the astonished expression of the boys when, soon after his first coming, they heard him speak of them by the familiar name in use amongst themselves; and in his later years, they observed with pleasure the unaffected interest with which, in the long autumn afternoons, he would often stand in the school-field and watch the issue of their favourite games of football. But his ascendancy was, generally speaking, not gained, at least in the first instance, by the effect of his outward manner. There was a shortness, at times, something of an awkwardness in his address, occasioned partly by his natural shyness, partly by his dislike of wasting words on trivial occasions, which to boys must have been often repulsive rather than conciliating; something also of extreme severity in his voice and countenance, beyond what he was himself at all aware of. With the very little boys, indeed, his manner partook of that playful kindness and tenderness, which always marked his intercourse with children; in examining them in the lower forms, he would sometimes take them on his knee, and go through picture-books of the Bible or of English History, covering the text of the narrative with his hand, and making them explain to him the subject of the several prints. But in those above this early age, and yet below the rank in the school which brought them into closer contact with him, the sternness of his character was the first thing that impressed them. In many, no doubt, this feeling was one of mere dread, which, if not subsequently removed or modified, only served to repel those who felt it to a greater distance from him. But in many also, this was, even in the earlier period of their stay, mingled with an involuntary and, perhaps, an unconscious respect

inspired by the sense of the manliness and straight-forwardness of his dealings, and still more by the sense of the general force of his moral character; by the belief (to use the words of different pupils) in "his extraordinary knack, for I can call it nothing else, of showing that his object in punishing or reproving, was not his own good or pleasure, but that of the boy,"—"in a truthfulness—an εἰλικρίνεια—a sort of moral transparency;" in the fixedness of his purpose, and "the searchingness of his practical insight into boys," by a consciousness, almost amounting to solemnity, that "when his eye was upon you, he looked into your inmost heart"; that there was something in his very tone and outward aspect, before which anything low, or false, or cruel, instinctively quailed and cowered.

And the defect of occasional over-hastiness and vehemence of expression, which during the earlier period of his stay at times involved him in some trouble, did not materially interfere with their general notion of his character. However mistaken it might be in the individual case, it was evident to those who took any thought about it, that that ashy paleness and that awful frown were almost always the expression not of personal resentment, but of deep, ineffable scorn and indignation at the sight of vice and sin: and it was not without its effect to observe, that it was a fault against which he himself was constantly on the watch—and which, in fact, was in later years so nearly subdued, that most of those who had only known him during that time can recall no instance of it during their stay.

But as boys advanced in the school, out of this feeling of fear "grew up a deep admiration, partaking largely of the nature of awe, and this softened into a sort of loyalty, which remained even in the closer and more affectionate sympathy of later years."—"I am sure," writes a pupil who had no personal communications with him whilst at school, and but little afterwards, and who never was in the Sixth Form, "that I do not

exaggerate my feelings when I say, that I felt a love and reverence for him as one of quite awful greatness and goodness, for whom I well remember that I used to think I would gladly lay down my life;" adding, with reference to the thoughtless companions with whom he had associated, "I used to believe that I too had a work to do for him in the school, and I did for his sake labour to raise the tone of the set I lived in, particularly as regarded himself." It was in boys immediately below the highest form that this new feeling would usually rise for the first time, and awaken a strong wish to know more of him. Then, as they came into personal contact with him, their general sense of his ability became fixed, in the proud belief that they were scholars of a man, who would be not less remarkable to the world than he was to themselves; and their increasing consciousness of his own sincerity of purpose, and of the interest which he took in them, often awakened, even in the careless and indifferent, an outward respect for goodness, and an animation in their work before unknown to them. And when they left school, they felt that they had been in an atmosphere unlike that of the world about them: some of those, who lamented not having made more use of his teaching whilst with him, felt that "a better thought than ordinary often reminded them how he first led to it; and in matters of literature almost invariably found that when any idea of seeming originality occurred to them, that its germ was first suggested by some remark of Arnold"—that "still, to this day in reading the Scriptures, or other things, they could constantly trace back a line of thought that came originally from him, as from a great parent mind." And when they heard of his death, they became conscious—often for the first time—of the large place which he had occupied in their thoughts, if not in their affections.

Such was the case with almost all who were in the Sixth Form with him during the last ten years of his life; but with some who, from peculiar circumstances or greater sympathy with him, came into more permanent communication with him,

there was a yet stronger bond of union. His interest in his elder pupils, unlike a mere professional interest, seemed to increase after they had left the school. No sermons were so full of feeling and instruction, as those which he preached on the eve of their departure for the Universities. It was now that the intercourse which at school had been so broken, and as it were stolen by snatches, was at last enjoyed between them to its full extent. It was sometimes in the few parting words —the earnest blessing which he then bestowed upon them— that they became for the first time conscious of his real care and love for them. The same anxiety for their good which he had felt in their passage through school, he now showed, without the necessity of official caution and reserve, in their passage through life. To any pupil who ever showed any desire to continue his connexion with him, his house was always open, and his advice and sympathy ready. No half-year, after the four first years of his stay at Rugby, passed without a visit from his former scholars: some of them would come three or four times a year; some would stay in his house for weeks. He would offer to prepare them for their university examinations by previous examinations of his own; he never shrunk from adding any of them to his already numerous correspondents, encouraging them to write to him in all perplexities. To any who were in narrow circumstances, not in one case, but in several, he would at once offer assistance, sometimes making them large presents of books on their entrance at the University, sometimes tendering them large pecuniary aid, and urging to them that his power of doing so was exactly one of those advantages of his position which he was most bound to use. In writing for the world at large, they were in his thoughts, "in whose welfare," he said, "I naturally have the deepest interest, and in whom old impressions may be supposed to have still so much force, that I may claim from them at least a patient hearing." (Serm., vol. iv. Pref. p. lv.) And when annoyed by distractions from within the school or

opposition from without, he turned, he used to say, to their visits, as "to one of the freshest springs of his life."

They on their side now learned to admire those parts of his character which, whilst at school, they had either not known or only imperfectly understood. Pupils with characters most different from each other's, and from his own—often with opinions diverging more and more widely from his as they advanced in life—looked upon him with a love and reverence which made his gratification one of the brightest rewards of their academical studies—his good or evil fame, a constant source of interest and anxiety to them—his approbation and censure, amongst their most practical motives of action—his example, one of their most habitual rules of life. To him they turned for advice in every emergency of life, not so much for the sake of the advice itself, as because they felt that no important step ought to be taken without consulting him. An additional zest was imparted to whatever work they were engaged in by a consciousness of the interest which he felt in the progress of their undertaking, and the importance which he attached to its result. They now felt the privilege of being able to ask him questions on the many points which his school teaching had suggested without fully developing—but yet more, perhaps, they prized the sense of his sympathy and familiar kindness, which made them feel that they were not only his pupils, but his companions. That youthfulness of temperament which has been before noticed in his relation to boys, was still more important in his relation to young men. All the new influences which so strongly divide the students of the nineteenth century from those of the last, had hardly less interest for himself than for them; and, after the dulness or vexation of business or of controversy, a visit of a few days to Rugby would remind them, (to apply a favourite image of his own,) "how refreshing it is in the depth of winter, when the ground is covered with snow, and all is dead and lifeless, to walk by the sea-shore, and enjoy the eternal freshness and liveliness of ocean." His very presence seemed to create a

new spring of health and vigour within them, and to give to life an interest and an elevation which remained with them long after they had left him again, and dwelt so habitually in their thoughts, as a living image, that, when death had taken him away, the bond appeared to be still unbroken, and the sense of separation almost lost in the still deeper sense of a life and an union indestructible.

What were the permanent effects of this system and influence, is a question which cannot yet admit of an adequate answer, least of all from his pupils. The mass of boys are, doubtless, like the mass of men, incapable of receiving a deep and lasting impression from any individual character, however remarkable; and it must also be borne in mind, that hardly any of his scholars were called by rank or station to take a leading place in English society, where the effect of his teaching and character, whatever it might be in itself, would have been far more conspicuous to the world at large.

He himself, though never concealing from himself the importance of his work, would constantly dwell on the scantiness of its results. "I came to Rugby," he said, "full of plans for school reform; but I soon found that the reform of a public school was a much more difficult thing than I had imagined." And again, "I dread to hear this called a religious school. I know how much there is to be done before it can really be called so."—"With regard to one's work," he said, "be it school or parish, I suppose the desirable feeling to entertain, is always to expect to succeed, and never think that you have succeeded." He hardly ever seems to have indulged in any sense of superiority to the other public schools. Eton, for example, he would often defend against the attacks to which it was exposed, and the invidious comparisons which some persons would draw between that school and Rugby. What were his feelings towards the improvements taking place there and

elsewhere, after his coming to Rugby, have been mentioned already; even between the old system and his own, he rarely drew a strong distinction, conscious though he must have been of the totally new elements which he was introducing. The earliest letters from Rugby express an unfeigned pleasure in what he found existing, and there is no one disparaging mention of his predecessor in all the correspondence, published or unpublished, that has been collected for this work.

If, however, the prediction of Dr Hawkins at his election has been in any way fulfilled, the result of his work need not depend on the rank, however eminent, to which he raised Rugby School; or the influence, however powerful, which he exercised over his Rugby scholars. And, if there be any truth in the following letter from Dr Moberly, to whose testimony additional weight is given, as well by his very wide difference of political and ecclesiastical opinion, as by his personal experience, first as a scholar at Winchester, and an under-graduate at Oxford, then as the tutor of the most flourishing college in that University, and lastly, in his present position as Head-master of Winchester, it will be felt that, not so much amongst his own pupils, nor in the scene of his actual labours, as in every Public School throughout England, is to be sought the chief and enduring monument of Dr Arnold's Head-mastership at Rugby.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF DR MOBERLY, HEAD-MASTER OF WINCHESTER.

"Possibly," he writes, after describing his own recollections as a school-boy, "other schools may have been less deep in these delinquencies than Winchester; I believe that in many respects they were. But I did not find, on going to the University, that I was under disadvantages as compared with those who came from other places; on the contrary, the tone of young men at the University, whether they came from Winchester, Eton, Rugby, Harrow, or wherever else, was universally irreligious. A religious

under-graduate was very rare, very much laughed at when he appeared; and I think I may confidently say, hardly to be found among public-school men; or, if this be too strongly said, hardly to be found except in cases where private and domestic training, or good dispositions, had prevailed over the school habits and tendencies. A most singular and striking change has come upon our public schools—a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately, who has not known them in both these times. This change is undoubtedly part of a general improvement of our generation in respect of piety and reverence, but I am sure that to Dr Arnold's personal earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable. He was the first. It soon began to be matter of observation to us in the University, that his pupils brought quite a different character with them to Oxford than that which we knew elsewhere. I do not speak of opinions; but his pupils were thoughtful, manly-minded, conscious of duty and obligation, when they first came to college; we regretted, indeed, that they were often deeply imbued with principles which we disapproved, but we cordially acknowledged the immense improvement in their characters in respect of morality and personal piety, and looked on Dr Arnold as exercising an influence for good, which (for how many years I know not) had been absolutely unknown to our public schools.

"I knew personally but little of him. You remember the first occasion on which I ever had the pleasure of seeing him: but I have always felt and acknowledged that I owe more to a few casual remarks of his in respect of the government of a public school, than to any advice or example of any other person. If there be improvement in the important points of which I have been speaking, at Winchester, (and from the bottom of my heart I testify with great thankfulness that the improvement is real and great,) I do declare, in justice, that his example encouraged me to hope that it might be effected, and his hints suggested to me the way of effecting it.

"I fear that the reply, which I have been able to make to your question, will hardly be so satisfactory as you expected, as it proceeds so entirely upon my own observations and inferences. At

the same time I have had, perhaps, unusual opportunity for forming an opinion, having been six years at a public school at the time of their being at the lowest,—having then mingled with young men from other schools at the University, having had many pupils from different schools, and among them several of Dr Arnold's most distinguished ones; and at last, having had near eight years' experience as the master of a school which has undergone, in great measure, the very alteration which I have been speaking of. Moreover, I have often said the very things, which I have here written, in the hearing of men of all sorts, and have never found anybody disposed to contradict them.

Believe me, my dear Stanley,

Yours most faithfully,

GEORGE MOBERLY."

Note. For a criticism of this letter see a reference in the Bibliography, p. 237 below.—*Ed.*

PART III.

SELECTED SERMONS PREACHED IN RUGBY CHAPEL.

SERMON A. (No. V. IN VOL. II.)

(Preached on Ash-Wednesday.)

I CORINTHIANS xiii. 11.

When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

THESE words contain the reason why so many of the sermons delivered from the pulpit in our own times, and our own country, produce so little effect upon their hearers. They are the address of a man who speaks and thinks in one way, to persons who speak and think in another. It is only by experience that we find what strong barriers are raised by age, by education, by manners of living, between one class of men and another; so that what are the most natural and familiar thoughts to one set of persons, are to another strange and unnatural, and quite above their understanding. But the words of the apostle, although they will suit a great many other cases, are more particularly suited to ours, who are now here assembled: "When I was a child, I thought, spake, and understood as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." And so it is daily found to be: we

not only put them away, but forget them; insomuch that it is sometimes as hard for a man to put himself again into the place of a boy, and to remember what he once was, as it is for a boy to imagine what he will be when he becomes a man, of which he has hitherto had no experience at all. Our Lord Himself seems, in one place, to speak of this particular difficulty which His ministers would meet with; the difficulty of making themselves understood by their hearers. "Every scribe," He says, "who is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old:" that is, as the people whom he will speak to are so different, he must be furnished with something to say to all of them; with things new and old; with things plain and things learned; with things solemn and things familiar; with things of heaven and things of earth. However good what he says may be of itself, it is worth nothing for practice, if it be not also suited to the particular understandings and feelings of those he is speaking to. It is not enough to speak of sin in general, and holiness in general, of God and Christ, of death and judgment. Something more clear and distinct is wanted; or else we do but fill the ears of our hearers with empty words, rather than bring home to their minds any truths that will do them good. You know very well that your faults are not those which you read of most in books; for books are written by men, and, in general, are intended to be read by men; they speak, therefore, mostly of the sins and temptations of manhood—of covetousness, ambition, injustice, pride, and other older vices,—with which you feel that you have as yet but small concern. Besides, the pulpit is a solemn and sacred place; whereas the matters with which you are daily engaged are so common and so humble, that it seems like a want of reverence to speak of them in a sermon plainly by their names. And yet, if we do not speak of them plainly by their names, half of what we say will be lost in the air. I purpose, then, with God's help, now and, perhaps, at some future times also, during this season of Lent which is now begun, to say something to you all about your own particular state and dangers; nor shall I care how plain and familiar is the language I use, as it is my wish to speak in such a manner that the youngest boy amongst you may understand, if he chooses to listen and to attend.

It is now a little more than a week ago, since there was read in this chapel the story of Adam eating the forbidden fruit, and being on that account driven out of paradise, and made liable to death. This story tells us how the first man that ever lived became a sinner: and we know, if we look into our own hearts with any care and sincerity, that we shall find enough that is sinful in ourselves. That this is so generally,—that bad, if left to itself, is too strong for good, and that the greatest number are apt to follow the bad rather than the good,—men learn every year of their lives more fully, by their experience of the world around them; but you too have had some experience of it already. Several of you are only just come to this place; some of you were never at any school at all till you came here. Some of you, at least, and I hope very many, have had the blessing of good parents at home; you have been taught to hear of God and of Christ, to say your prayers, and to remember that wherever you are, and whatever you are doing, God ever sees you. You have seen in your own house nothing base, nothing cruel, nothing ill-natured, and especially, nothing false. You thought a lie was one of the most hateful things in the world; and that to give up to your brothers and sisters, and to please your parents, was a great deal better than to be always quarrelling and envying, and to think of pleasing no one but yourselves. I hope and believe that many of you, before you came to school, were thus taught, and that the teaching was not in vain; that you not only heard of what was good, but, on the whole, practised it. But how is it with you now? I am afraid that I dare not ask those who have been here so much as one half year or more: but even if I were to ask those who have not yet been here so much as one month, what sort of an answer could you give, if you answered truly? Do you think of God *now?* Do you remember that He ever, and in every place, sees what you are doing? Do you say your prayers to Him? Do you still think that lying, and all those shuffling, dishonest excuses, which are as bad as lying, are base, and contemptible, and wicked?—or have you heard these things so often from others, even if you yourselves have not been guilty of them, that you think there cannot be any great harm in them? Do you still love to be kind to your companions, never teasing or ill-treating them, and never being ill-natured and out of temper with them?—or have you already been

accustomed to the devilish pleasure of giving pain to others: and whilst you are yourselves teased and ill used by some who are stronger than you, do you repeat the very same conduct to those who are weaker than you? Are you still anxious to please your parents; and, in saying your lessons, do you still retain the natural thought of a well-bred and noble disposition, that you would like to say them as well as you can, and to please those who teach you?—or have you already learnt the first lesson in the devil's school, to laugh at what is good, and generous, and high-principled, and to be ashamed of doing your duty? Now if you have been wholly or in part corrupted in these points, within one short month, so that the good learnt in ten or twelve years has been overthrown in less than thirty days;—and if this has happened not to one or two only, who might happen to be weak, and easily led into evil, but, more or less, to all of you, and, in a greater degree, generally speaking, to those who have been here for a longer period; if, in short, you all find that you would be afraid to speak and act just as you ought to do, because you would be laughed at and disliked if you did;—then you have already had some experience of the truth of what the Bible tells us, that man's nature is corrupt and bad; and you can understand somewhat of the meaning of those texts which speak of the world as being opposed to God, and that its friendship is enmity with God. It shows you plainly, how strong must be our evil dispositions, when you see them, in so short a time, getting the better of those that have had ten or twelve years to ripen; it shows you, too, how much the world is opposed to God; that is, the opinions and practices of a number of persons, living together in one society,—because you see a number of boys, who, while living at home, or by themselves, might go on very well, and think and act very rightly, yet, as soon as they mix with one another, and form one large body, the opinions and influence of that body shall be bad. Every boy brings some good with him, at least, from home, as well as some evil; and yet you see how very much more catching the evil is than the good, or else you would make one another better by mixing together; and if any single boy did anything wrong, it would be condemned by the general opinion of all the school, just as some wrong things, such as stealing money, for example, are condemned at present. You have learnt, then, or at least, you have had the experience,

and may have learnt, if you chose, how easily you are tempted to do wrong, and how apt the world is to tempt you: for, as I said before, the society in which we live is the world; and, therefore, school is the world to you, just as our town and neighbourhood and acquaintance, and all those who hear or know anything about us, are the world to each of us in after life. And if you find, and sometimes, perhaps, feel sorry within yourselves, that it is so hard to be good; that you are so easily tempted to evil, and that the world about you is so apt to tempt you;—and yet, although you are thus sorry not to be better, you still are, in fact, no better;—then you are under what St Paul calls the service and bondage of sin; that is, your lives are sinful, whether you like it or no; and being sinful, lead you to dislike God, and to fear Him, without the fear doing you any good, and thus make you liable to His heavy judgments. And it was a man in this state whom St Paul makes justly to cry out, from a strong feeling of his misery, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

SERMON B. (No. XII. IN VOL. II.)

GALATIANS iii. 24.

The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.

IN the sermon which I preached last Sunday from this place, I could not forbear from entering into some detail upon the great and peculiar truths of Christianity. The day seemed to call for such a choice of a subject, as it was set apart to commemorate, not one part only of the scheme of our redemption, like the feasts of Christmas, or Easter, or Whitsuntide, but the whole of it together; all our relations to God, and all that God has done for us are concentrated in a manner in the celebration of Trinity Sunday. Yet, even at the very time when I was thus dwelling on the great truths of the Gospel, I doubted whether my hearers were sufficiently advanced to receive them. I do not mean advanced in understanding,—for in that respect they are, indeed, easy,—but advanced in

Christian feelings and Christian practice. By what strange error could it have ever happened that the doctrines of the Gospel have been regarded as little bearing upon our practice, but because the practice of so many, who call themselves Christians, has been unfit to receive them? It is an awful but a certain truth, that the very foundation of Christianity, that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," is heard continually with no lively impression of the inestimable blessing conveyed in it. How should it rightly be valued, when we care so little about the evil of sin, and think there is nothing very alarming in the condition of a sinner? Therefore the words of the Apostle are for ever useful, and apply to the successive stages of our individual growth, no less than to the successive periods in the existence of the world; "The law is our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ:" and it is vain to hope that we shall ever attain to the full faith and love of a Christian, without having first gone to school to the teaching of the law.

For this reason it is, that on former occasions I have spoken less than some, perhaps, might expect, of the promises of the Gospel; and have dwelt much more upon your own individual faults and duties. Assuredly, if any one among you were filled with an entire hatred of sin,—if he were thoroughly anxious to become like God, and felt most deeply the infinite distance between the most pure and most high God, and himself a sinner,—to such an one I would hasten to hold forth the Gospel promises,—to such an one I would repeat all those comfortable words, of which the Scripture is so full —that there is no condemnation for those who believe in Christ, and that all who believe in him are justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses. I would say, that, through the aid of Christ's Spirit, they should be daily renewed after Christ's image, till their resemblance to God should be the sure sign that they were, indeed, the children of God. This, I say, is the language which we should use to those who are really anxious about their salvation; who really are dissatisfied with and distrust themselves, and love and entirely desire to please God. It was when the publican said, in sincerity and earnestness of heart, "God be merciful to me a sinner," that he went down to his house justified rather than the Pharisee. It was when Job confessed that he had endeavoured to justify himself in vain, and that he now abhorred himself, and repented in dust and ashes, that the answer

of God was given, that he had spoken the thing that was right, and that his latter end should be blessed more than his beginning. But I fear, that, to most of you, the best proof that the mercies of your redemption are not the fittest subject on which to address you, is contained in the fact, that you are so little interested in hearing of them: "The law then must be your schoolmaster to bring you unto Christ;" that is, we must try if, by any means, declaring to you the pure and perfect law of God, and contrasting it with your own principles and practice, we can succeed in making you feel your sin and your danger, and so, ready and eager to fly to Christ for deliverance.

What the aspect of public schools is, when viewed with a Christian's eye,—and what are the feelings with which men, who do really turn to God in after life, look back upon their years passed at school,—I cannot express better than in the words of one[1] who had himself been at a public school, who did afterwards become a most exemplary Christian, and who, in what I am going to quote, seems to describe his own experience: "Public schools," he says, "are the very seats and nurseries of vice. It may be unavoidable, or it may not; but the fact is indisputable. None can pass through a large school without being pretty intimately acquainted with vice; and few, alas! very few without tasting too largely of that poisoned bowl. The hour of grace and repentance at length arrives, and they are astonished at their former fatuity. The young convert looks back with inexpressible regret to those hours which have been wasted in folly, or worse than folly: and the more lively his sense of the newly discovered mercies, the more piercing his anguish for past indulgences." Now, although too many of us may not be able to join in the last part of this description, yet we must all, I think, be able to bear witness to the truth of the first part. We may not all share in the after repentance, but we must know that our school life has given ample cause for repentance. "Public schools are the very seats and nurseries of vice. It may be unavoidable, or it may not; but the fact is indisputable." These are the words of the sensible and excellent man whom I have just alluded to: and with what feelings ought we all to read them, and

[1] The late Mr John Bowdler. See his "Remains," Vol II. p. 153. Third edition.

to listen to them? I am afraid the fact is, indeed, indisputable—"Public schools *are* the very seats and nurseries of vice." But he goes on to say, "It may be unavoidable, or it may not:" and these words seem to me as though they ought to fill us with the deepest shame of all. For what a notion does it give, that we should have been so long and so constantly bad, that it may be doubted whether our badness be not unavoidable—whether we are not evil hopelessly and incurably. And this to be true of places which were intended to be seats of Christian education; and in all of which, I believe, the same words are used in the daily prayers which we use regularly here! God is thanked for those founders and benefactors, "by whose benefits the whole school is brought up to godliness and good learning!" Brought up to godliness and good learning, in places that are the very seats and nurseries of vice! But the doubt, whether our viciousness be or be not unavoidable, is something too horrible to be listened to. Surely we cannot regard ourselves as so utterly reprobate, as so thoroughly accursed of God. "The earth, which beareth briers and thorns, is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, though we thus speak;" or else, indeed, our labour would be utterly vain. But then our hope that this viciousness is not unavoidable, depends upon you, whether or no you choose to make it so. Outward order, regularity, nay, even advancement in learning, may be, up to a certain point, enforced; but no man can force another to be good, or hinder him from being evil. It must be your own choice and act, whether, indeed, you wish this place to be "unavoidably a seat and nursery of vice," or whether you wish to verify the words of our daily thanksgiving, that, by the benefit of our founder, "you are here brought up to godliness and good learning."

But, it may be asked, what is meant when public schools are called "the seats and nurseries of vice?" It is not difficult to find out in what sense a Christian writer must have used the expression. That is properly a nursery of vice, where a boy unlearns the pure and honest principles which he may have received at home, and gets, in their stead, others which are utterly low, and base, and mischievous,—where he loses his modesty, his respect for truth, and his affectionateness, and becomes coarse, and false, and unfeeling. That too, is a nursery of vice, and most fearfully so, where

vice is bold, and forward, and presuming ; and goodness is timid and shy, and existing as if by sufferance,—where the good, instead of setting the tone of society, and branding with disgrace those who disregard it, are themselves exposed to reproach for their goodness, and shrink before the open avowal of evil principles, which the bad are striving to make the law of the community. That is a nursery of vice where the restraints laid upon evil are considered as so much taken from liberty, and where, generally speaking, evil is more willingly screened and concealed, than detected and punished. What society would be, if men regarded the laws of God and man as a grievance, and thought liberty consisted in following to the full their proud, and selfish, and low inclinations,—that schools to a great extent are : and, therefore, they may be well called "the seats and nurseries of vice."

Now then, to what is this owing? Public schools are made up of the very same persons whom we have known a few years earlier, to be pure-minded and obedient children,—whom we know, a few years later, to be at least decent and useful men. What especial cloud hangs over this one part of our life's current, that the stream here will ever run dark and sullen, while on its earlier and its later course it is either all bright and lively, or the impurity of its waters is lost to the distant view in the breadth and majesty of their volume? I must touch upon the causes, or how shall we be able to point out the remedies?

Unquestionably, the time of life at which you are arrived, and more particularly the younger boys among you, is, in itself, exceedingly dangerous. It is just the time, beyond all others in life, when temptation is great, and the strength of character to resist it exceeding small. Earlier, under your parents' roof, the taint of evil reached you with far less virulence,—you were surrounded with all influences of good. Later, you will be exposed, indeed, to enough of evil, but you will have gained at least more experience, and more strength of mind, to resist it. It is a great matter too, that your bodies, at your time of life, so far outgrow your minds ;—that your spirits and bodily strength are so vigorous and active, while your understandings are, in comparison, so feeble. This makes you unapt and unwilling to think ; and he who does not think, must surely do one of two things,—he must submit himself entirely to be guided by the advice and direction of others, like

young children, or else he must certainly go wrong. Another cause is, that at no place, or time of life, are people so much the slaves of custom, as boys at school. If a thing has been an old practice, be it ever so mischievous, ever so unworthy, it is continued without scruple; if a thing is new, be it ever so useful and ever so excellent, it is apt to be regarded as a grievance. The question which boys seem to ask, is not, What ought we to be, and what may the school become, if we do our duty?—but, What have we been used to, and is the school as good as it was formerly? So, looking backwards, instead of looking forwards,—comparing ourselves with ourselves, instead of with the Word of God,—we are sure never to grow better, because we lose the wish to become better: and growth in goodness will never come, without our vigorous efforts to attain to it. This cause extends a great way, and produces more evil than we are apt to think of. Old habits, old practices, are handed down from generation to generation, and, above all, old feelings. Now it is certain that education, like everything else, was not brought to perfection when our great schools were first founded: the system had a great deal required to make it what it ought to be. I am afraid that Christian principles were not enough brought forward, that lower motives were encouraged, and a lower standard altogether suffered to prevail. The system also was too much one of fear and outward obedience; the obedience of the heart and the understanding were little thought of. And the consequence has been the same in every old school in England,—that boys have learnt to regard themselves and their masters as opposites to one another, as having two distinct interests;—it being the master's object to lay on restrictions, and abridge their liberty, while it was their business, by all sorts of means,—combination amongst themselves, concealment, trick, open falsehood, or open disobedience,—to baffle his watchfulness, and escape his severity. It cannot be too strong to say, that this is at least so far the case, as far as regards the general business of schools: the boys' interest and pleasure are supposed to consist in contriving to have as little work as they can, the master's in putting on as much as he can; a strange and sad state of feeling, which must have arisen, I fear, from the habit of keeping out of sight the relation in which we both stand, masters and boys alike, to our common Master in heaven, and that it is his service which we all

have, after our several stations, to labour in. A due sense of our common service to our heavenly Master is inculcated by St Paul as softening even the hardships of slavery,—although it is the peculiar curse of that wretched system, that the power is there exercised, not for the good of the governed, but for that of the governor. It is not for his own good, but for the interest merely of his master, that any man is a slave. But our relation to one another, like that of children and parents, is a relation chiefly for your good: it is for your benefit that the restraints of education are intended,—that you may be good, and wise, and happy, in after years, and may bring forth fruit from the seed here sown, which may endure unto life eternal. And this you would all at once acknowledge, if it were not for the old school feeling handed down from one generation to another, and growing out of a system too neglectful of Christian principles, or too fearful of openly professing them. This veil over the heart and understanding, this fatal prejudice, this evil error, like every thing else false, ignorant, and wicked, can only be done away in Christ. When you shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away; and you will be enabled to see clearly your true condition here, what we are endeavouring to make it, and how entirely our objects and interests are the same as your own.

SERMON C. (No. XVI. in Vol. III.)

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

(Preached in Rugby School Chapel on the Founder's Commemoration.)

DEUTERONOMY xi. 19.

Ye shall teach these my words unto your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

THIS is the simplest notion of education; for, undoubtedly, he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life, to execute it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or knowing it, has

received no help in his education towards being inclined and enabled to do it.

Stated in these words, I do not know that any one would much dispute the truth of this description. But when we come to unfold it, and try to arrive at an accurate knowledge of it in detail, we find room for very great differences of opinion, such as have given birth to various controversies, and to many different systems in practice. These, of course, it is not my purpose to enter into; but it may not be amiss to show how a description, seemingly so simple, can lead to all these differences, and what it is which so often perplexes men's notions when they come to speak of education.

Now the origin of these disputes arises, in a great degree, from making a division such as we find in the prayers used in other places of education, and partly also in that one which is in daily use here; a division, namely, between "true religion" and "useful learning." For men's ideas of what is "true religion" being thus very much narrowed, the point in which all were agreed became greatly reduced, whilst a new and very important one was introduced, on which men might greatly differ. It was thought that the great and allowed end of education was sufficiently fulfilled by what was called teaching the Bible; that thus we should know God's will respecting us, and be also disposed to practise it. But here the study of the Bible being considered as synonymous with "religious education," it followed, on the one hand, that all those things which were necessarily taught besides the Bible, in colleges and higher schools, were looked upon as distinct from religion; and, on the other hand, that they who held "religious education" to be all that was needed as a matter of necessity, taught, in schools for the poor, nothing but the Bible.

This will sufficiently show how the great disputes about education are consistent with men's admitting that definition of it which I gave at the beginning of my sermon. All but the Bible became debatable ground, and its greater or less usefulness was asserted or denied on all sorts of different principles, men seeming to suppose all the while that religious education was not concerned in the dispute. And thus I have no doubt that it has been with perfect sincerity in the minds of many of its supporters, that a system of education has been set up, which professes to leave religion out, and yet to teach history, political economy, law, and

moral philosophy. It is said,—"We do not profess to interfere with religious education,—*that* we leave to the parents; we merely wish to give education in science, both physical and moral." I have no doubt that this was, and is said, in a great many cases, with perfect sincerity; the more so, because it quite agrees with the opinions of another set of persons, to whom I alluded before, and who, meaning to give a religious education, teach the Bible only. It is manifest, that both these classes of persons go upon the same ground, namely, that religious education is to be given only out of the Bible; and that in perfect consistency with this notion, one class wishing to educate only religiously, teaches no history; and another class, while teaching history, believes that it is wholly abstaining from religious education.

Now, if we consider a little what were the circumstances of the Israelites, and what the extent of the words spoken in the text, it will help to throw some light upon this subject. "Ye shall teach these my words unto your children." What words do we think are here meant? Was it the Ten Commandments, as given on the two tables from Mount Sinai? Or was it the five books of the Pentateuch, as we now have them, from Genesis to Deuteronomy? No such thing: the special thing meant to be taught, was a knowledge of God's statutes and ordinances; not the Ten Commandments only, not all the early history of their forefathers contained in the book of Genesis, but God's law given to them his people; his will respecting them morally and politically; his will with regard to all the relations of private and public life; with regard to their government, their limits and divisions, their property real and personal, their rules of inheritance, their rules with regard to marriage; their whole conduct, in short, in peace and in war, as men and as citizens. All this was laid down in their law; all this was carefully to be taught them in their youth, that so in whatever line of life they might be thrown, or whatever questions might be agitated, they might know what was God's will, and therefore might know and do their own duty.

Such was the wide extent of that word of God which was to form the religious education of the Israelites. But now, mark the difference with us. Our church teaches expressly, in agreement, I believe, with all other Christian churches, "that the law given from God, by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, does

not bind Christian men; nor ought the civil precepts thereof to be received of necessity in any commonwealth." Accordingly, it is notorious that there are few parts of the Bible with which persons in general are so little acquainted, as the book of Leviticus, and those parts of Numbers and Deuteronomy which contain the civil and the ceremonial law of the Israelites. Nor is this to be wondered at; for although this law contained God's will for his people of old, to conduct them in the various public and private relations of their lives, it does not contain his will for us under the like circumstances. What we retain of this law is the moral part, that is to say, the broad general principles upon which we should act, and a knowledge of certain actions from which we should abstain. But the application of these principles to our own times and circumstances, in an infinity of questions, remains to be sought for. Yet this application contains God's will for us in our generation, just as it did for the Jews. But for them, the Bible contained both the rule and the application; for us it contains only the rule.

Nor can we find in any other part of the Bible what is no longer furnished us by the law of Moses. Principles of life we find in the utmost possible perfection; notions as to the relative value of our several qualities and duties; warnings drawing our attention to the very points with regard to self-government, which we are most apt to neglect, such as the value of time, and of opportunities of every sort, and the great guilt of neglecting them, and of contenting ourselves with doing no harm. But the application of all these rules is still left to us; the precise line of our duty, with regard to those manifold subjects which surround us on every side, is not declared to us in so many words in the Bible. To give one instance out of a great number. What can be more important than our duty with respect to the poor? What more clear and strong than the general commands in the Scripture, to consider their welfare? But can we find in the Scriptures the precise manner in which, in this country, and at this time, their welfare will be best promoted? Do they direct us immediately as to the preference which should be given to one scheme rather than another, both professing, and both intended to effect the same object? It is quite manifest that other knowledge, and other studies, must teach us the application of God's general rules to

our particular case, as their own law, which did contain this application in its civil provisions, taught it to the Jews.

Thus to put ourselves in a condition to comply with the words of the text, to instruct our children fully in God's will, and enable them to execute it, we must bring in some other knowledge, and other studies, not to be found in the Bible, to make up for that part of the Bible which gave this instruction to the Israelites, but which gives it to us no longer. And hence it is clear, that neither is the Bible alone sufficient to give a complete religious education, nor is it possible to teach history, and moral and political philosophy, with no reference to the Bible, without giving an education that shall be anti-religious. For, in the one case, the rule is given without the application; in the other, the application is derived from a wrong rule. If, indeed, history were rigorously nothing but a simple collection of particular facts: if the writers made no remarks on them, and the readers drew from them no conclusions; there might, indeed, be no reference to a wrong rule, and the study might be harmless, except as a waste of time. But as this is not, and cannot be, the case: as almost every writer of history does comment upon his facts, and reason about them; and as all readers, even when they cannot be said to draw conclusions from a history, are yet sure to catch some moral impression; so it becomes impossible to read and think much about human actions and human character, without referring both to God's standard, and yet at the same time to avoid separating off a large portion of our moral nature from the guidance and habitual sovereignty of God.

I thought that thus much might be said with propriety in this place, for the subject is one which we all have to do with; and though I do not expect that all will have taken an interest in, or been able to follow the view which I have been giving, yet the ability to do so certainly exists in a great many; and, perhaps, the statement may be not altogether uninteresting. Some, perhaps, have been puzzled,—at least, I know that the difficulty has been felt in other instances,—how to reconcile with a profession of religious or Christian education, the devotion of so much time to studies not supposed to be religious, and certainly not in themselves necessarily Christian. Now the reason is, because the words of a rule are much sooner learnt than the power of applying it universally;

and that whilst the Scripture itself alone furnishes the former, the latter must be sought for in sources exceedingly various, and extracted from them by a long and laborious process. Undoubtedly that is useless in education, which does not enable a man to glorify God better in his way through life; but then we are called upon to glorify him in many various ways, according to our several callings and circumstances; and as we are to glorify him both in our bodies and in our spirits, with all our faculties, both outward and inward, I cannot consider it unworthy either to render our body strong and active, or our understanding clear, rich, and versatile in its powers: I cannot reject from the range of religious education whatever ministers to the perfection of our bodies and our minds, so long as both in body and mind, in soul and spirit, we ourselves may be taught to minister to the service of God.

This being the case, it seems to me that the advantages of great places of education are very considerable, and the benefits of such foundations as ours, of which this day has naturally reminded me, impose a great responsibility on all of us. I said the advantages of *great* places of education; and I meant to lay a stress upon the epithet. It seems to me that there is, or ought to be, something very ennobling in being connected with any establishment at once ancient and magnificent; where all about us, and all the associations belonging to the objects around us, should be great, splendid, and elevating. What an individual ought, and often does, derive, from the feeling that he is born of an old and illustrious race, from being familiar, from his childhood, with the walls and with the trees that speak of the past no less than of the present, and make both full of images of greatness; this, in an inferior degree, belongs to every member of an ancient and celebrated place of education. In this respect, every one has a responsibility imposed upon him, which I wish that we more considered. We know how school traditions are handed down from one school generation to another; and what is it, if in all these there shall be nothing great, nothing distinguished, nothing but a record, to say the best of it, of mere boyish amusements, when it is not a record of boyish follies? Every generation, in which a low and foolish spirit prevails, does its best to pollute the local influences of the place; to degrade its associations, to deprive the thought of belonging to it of any thing that may enkindle and

ennoble the minds of those who come after it. And if these foolish, or tame, associations continue, they make the evil worse: persons who appreciate highly the elevating effect of a great and ancient foundation, will no longer send their sons to a place which has forfeited one of its most valuable powers; whose antiquity has nothing of the dignity, nothing of the romance of antiquity, but is either a blank, or worse than a blank. So the spirit gets lower and lower; and instead of finding a help and an encouragement in the associations of its place of education, the ingenuous mind feels them all no more than a weight upon its efforts; they only tend to thwart it, and to keep it down. This is the tendency, not only of a vicious tone, prevailing in a great place of education, but even of a foolish and childish one; of a tone that tolerates ignorance, and an indifference about all, save the amusements of the day. On the other hand, whatever is done here well and honourably, outlives its own generation. In smaller schools, one cannot look forward to posterity; when our children are of an age to commence their education, a total change may have taken place in the spot, and all its associations may have vanished for ever. But here it is not so; the size, the scale, the wealth of a great institution like this ensures its permanency, so far as any thing on earth is permanent. The good and the evil, the nobleness or the vileness, which may exist on this ground now, will live and breathe here in the days of our children; they will form the atmosphere in which they will live hereafter, either wholesome and invigorating, or numbing and deadly. This roof, under which we are now assembled, will hold, it is probable, our children and our children's children: may they be enabled to think, when they shall kneel, perhaps, over the bones of some of us now here assembled, that they are praying where their fathers prayed; and let them not, if they mock in their day the means of grace here offered, encourage themselves with the thought that the place had long ago been profaned with equal guilt, that they are but infected with the spirit of our ungodliness.

SERMON D. (No. XXV. in Vol. III.)

CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE.

JEREMIAH xxxvi. 23.

And it came to pass, that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves, the king cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was on the hearth.

IN the two lessons from the Old Testament, chosen for this day's service, we have a picture of the two extremes of obedience and disobedience, standing in strong contrast to each other. I call the case of the Rechabites the extreme of obedience; for it appears that they were not strictly bound to observe the rules which their ancestor had laid down for them, inasmuch as no man can pretend to bind his posterity to any one particular manner of living; yet still, from respect to his memory and to the example of their own immediate parents, the descendants of that Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, who lived in the reign of Jehu, continued to practise his commands nearly three hundred years afterwards, in the reign of Jehoiakim. Nor is it to the purpose to decide whether Jehonadab's commands were in themselves wise or no; or whether, in a similar case, if such an one could be found, a man's descendants in our days would do right in keeping his regulations. The story is not applicable, nor meant to be applied, as a particular rule, but as a general one; and as such, it declares that the habit of obedience, of giving up our own will to the will of others, even when there is no absolute duty requiring us to do so, is most pleasing in the sight of God, and in close conformity to the mind of Christ.

On the other hand, the story of Jehoiakim's burning the roll represents the extreme of disobedience. The roll which Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah contained, in the first place, commands very different in themselves from those delivered by Jehonadab to the Rechabites. It did not contain commands about things, in their own nature, indifferent, such as drinking no wine, and living in tents; it was a charge to fulfil the simple and universal duty of turning from evil and following good. It matters not from whom

we receive such a charge as this; whether it come from the wisest man alive, or the most foolish; whether it be delivered with every circumstance of outward authority, or found scattered by the way side. The charge to remember our duty is one which our conscience bids us immediately obey, without any regard whatever to the worthiness of the person from whom we receive it. But, in the next place, the roll which Jehoiakim burnt not only contained commands very different in their own nature from those of Jehonadab to the Rechabites, but commands recommended also by a very different authority. They were not the directions of a man to his remote posterity, who may be born centuries after he is dead; of whose condition he can know nothing, and to whom he cannot in right pretend to prescribe his laws; but they were the commands of the everlasting God, to whom all things past and to come are for ever present; His commands to the creatures whom He had made, to the people whom He had chosen, spoken by the mouth of His acknowledged prophet. Yet again, God's commands, we know, are too often disobeyed; but in the case of Jehoiakim, they were disobeyed avowedly, and with scorn. It was not the language of him who said, I will, though he afterwards went not; not the language of ordinary sin, breaking its own resolutions, yet condemning itself the while; but of sin with a high hand, sin open and blasphemous, which takes its part declaredly with the enemies of God, and stakes its all upon the issue.

Now, between these two cases, thus brought into contrast with one another almost within the same page, the conduct of the great mass of mankind is always hovering. Few equal the extreme of obedience set forth on the one hand, as few the extreme of disobedience set forth on the other. Thousands who disobey the Bible every day would shrink from the thought of burning it in utter defiance. Thousands who will do what they see to be just and reasonable will make no scruple of breaking a command which seems to them, in its own nature, indifferent. There is little need to speak against open blasphemy here, nor is it to the purpose to hold up literally the example of the Rechabites' obedience; but it will be to the purpose to show how much we are wanting in the principle of obedience, and how we thus come to insult God almost as really, though not so openly, as Jehoiakim when he burnt the roll.

That we are almost all of us, old and young, wanting in the principle of obedience, might be concluded pretty surely from the simple fact, that we do not like the very word. The word "independence," which is the opposite to obedience, is, on the contrary, a great favourite with us; we consider that it is at once delightful and honourable. Tracing this up to its origin, it is certainly, in part, nothing but evil; for it is made up largely of pride, and pride is ignorance of God. But as few feelings are unmixed evil, so this, also, has been strengthened by being in part made up of good. So much of power has been exercised for evil, so much of obedience has been rendered from base fear or base hope of gain, that independence has been commended to us by its wearing the semblance of a noble courage, which would not, from selfish motives, submit to a disgraceful yoke. And because those who have suffered under oppressive power have been many, and they have been generally conscious that their own obedience proceeded not from principle, but from fear, they have admired the man who showed that he was without this fear, and from whose exertions they have all been benefited.

What is called, then, the feeling of independence is admired chiefly because it shows the absence of fear. But if obedience were rendered not from fear, but from principle, it would then be nobler, because it would imply greater self-denial, than the feeling of independence: for the feeling of independence is, in other words, a wish to have our own way, a wish in which there is nothing at all noble or admirable, except in as far as it is exercised in the face of the fear of danger. Set aside the existence of fear, and independence becomes no better than self-will; while obedience becomes self-denial for the sake of others, that is benevolence or charity.

This, I think, is quite true as to what is called independence, which, in itself, I have never seen praised, nor do I understand how it can be praised, except on false and unchristian grounds. For when it is called a proper sense of the dignity of man's nature, and an assertion of his natural freedom, the complacence with which such language is listened to, only shows how little our habitual principles of judgment are really influenced by Christianity. What the dignity of man's nature is, except as compared with the beasts, or as when renewed by the Spirit of God, I cannot

understand, if we attach any meaning to the words sin and corruption. Or what can be the natural freedom of a being who was created by the will of another, and who, by the very necessity of his existence, must for ever remain subject either as a loving child or a rebellious slave. I said, therefore, that pride was ignorance of God; for it can only be well founded on the supposition that we made ourselves, or that we are the most exalted order of beings in the universe, instead of being, so far as we know, the only order of beings which, by its own evil acts, is corrupted and degraded.

Obedience, if we set aside base fear or base hope of gain, is no other than self-denial, reverence, and benevolence. And this, not only or principally when the thing commanded is in itself our duty; for then it may be done for its own sake, and not for the sake of the command; but when the thing commanded is indifferent, or when it is inconvenient to ourselves, but by no means involves any thing wrong in its compliance. For I need not say that obedience to a wicked command is at once disobedience to God, just as disobedience to a wicked command is obedience to God. The question is not, therefore, about commands of this sort, but about commands either altogether indifferent, or inconvenient to us to obey; not wicked or blamable; that is, the very sort of commands which are most commonly disobeyed, for commands to do what is wrong are, as we know, but seldom given.

Command implies a superiority; and therefore obedience, correctly speaking, is shown from an inferior towards a superior; from private persons to the laws, and to persons in public authority; from children to their parents, and so in the case of other similar relations; and in all these cases you may satisfy yourselves very easily, that where obedience is not shown from fear or interest, it is actually very much nobler than disobedience, and that the only thing which could have ever given to disobedience any just appearance of dignity is, because obedience has been so often paid from unworthy motives.

Undoubtedly I have been intending all this to apply to your present situation here. If indeed I had seen amongst you any thing like a spirit of disobedience, if the relations between you and us were full of disorder and unkindness, I should have found it much more difficult, much more disagreeable, to speak on such a subject, though it might have been in one sense more needed.

It would have been more disagreeable, for nothing can be more painful than to wear the slightest appearance of perverting this place into an engine of enforcing discipline for our own convenience; but as things are, I have no hesitation at all in speaking on the point. I say, without any scruple, that this is a place where the habit of true, of noble obedience, may and ought to be cultivated: of obedience, not from any unworthy fear or hope, but upon principle. In fact, every one knows that at schools all the unworthy motives are in favour of disobedience; take away any sense of principle or of affection, and as a mere matter of present loss and gain, obedience, on many occasions, holds out far less temptation than disobedience. I say it, as a matter of most certain truth, that if you suppose any boy perfectly indifferent to duty or affection, supposing that there is nothing in him but selfishness to work upon, and the favour or displeasure of his masters cannot affect his comfort nearly so much as the liking or disliking of his companions; and you know well that their liking or disliking are not always directed as they ought to be. I am not sorry to confess that our rewards and punishments all suppose something good in yourselves to work upon; and this it is which makes the difference between education and civil government, between the discipline of a school and that of a workhouse or a gaol. Government by fear alone or chiefly is happily impossible with us, because here the object is your improvement, not your outward obedience only; and fear can but enforce the latter, not the former. But whilst obedience from unworthy motives is thus set out of the question, obedience for conscience' sake may often be practised here; and the habit gained, than which none is more needed, nor any more ennobling, of cheerful submission to lawful authority. Obedience may often be practised, obedience I mean in things indifferent, or of which you do not see the importance; for I do not call it properly obedience when we only do what our conscience would have equally bound us to without any command at all. But in all societies there are some things laid down for the sake of general order or propriety, which in themselves, before they were fixed, can scarcely be said to have any thing to do with right or wrong. It is obedience when these rules are obeyed for conscience' sake, obeyed because they are rules, and rules imposed by an authority which has a lawful claim on our compliance; and the good of so obeying

in the formation of the character is not inconsiderable. Not indeed if manhood were really, as some falsely talk, a state of independence; if the moment of your leaving school would be the last in which you would have anything to do with obedience. But he who so looks on life is little likely to make it the beginning of life eternal. I do not speak only of those professions or situations in which obedience, in the most common sense of the word, is so strictly required; nor yet of the respect which our parents must claim so long as they are spared to us. But I speak of the habit of giving way to others, of not pressing our own will against theirs; that Christian habit which St Peter calls "being subject one to another;" and I speak still more of the habit of obedience to God and Christ, as distinct from what we mean by the words virtue and duty. There can indeed be no obedience to God without these, but the word implies something more, it implies doing our duty because God commands it, it implies a deep and abiding sense of our relation to him, that we are not, nor ever can be independent beings, but dependent creatures; and that, by practising obedience to our Maker, by doing his will because it is his will, and because we love him, we shall be raised to a higher and more endearing name; no longer creatures, but children.

On the other hand, the habit of disobedience may be learnt here no less readily. To hate authority, to evade it whenever you can, and to make a boast of doing so,—there are many opportunities, there is the temptation of much vulgar applause, to lead you to this; and with the feeling of independence thus full grown, as it were, in early youth, are these the times, or is this the country in which it will be diminished in manhood? Will it not be strengthened into all that selfish indifference to law and to authority of every kind which is now so common? And will he, who despises man, indeed reverence God? Or will he not, does he not, as a matter of experience, find Christ's yoke hard also? and does he not strive to free himself from it at every turn? How far is he then removed from the hardness of Jehoiakim? And does he not as truly hate and defy God's word in his heart and life, as if he were to utter his blasphemies aloud, and revile the Scriptures, or mock at Christ's worship and ordinances?

SERMON E. (No. II. in Vol. IV.)

1 Corinthians xiii. 11.

When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

Taking the Apostle's words literally, it might appear that no words in the whole range of Scripture were less applicable to the circumstances of this particular congregation: for they speak of childhood and of manhood; and as all of us have passed the one, so a very large proportion of us have not yet arrived at the other. But when we consider the passage a little more carefully, we shall see that this would be a very narrow and absurd objection. Neither the Apostle, nor any one else, has ever stepped directly from childhood into manhood; it was his purpose here only to notice the two extreme points of the change which had taken place in him, passing over its intermediate stages; but he, like all other men, must have gone through those stages. There must have been a time in his life, as in all ours, when his words, his thoughts, and his understanding were neither all childish, nor all manly: there must have been a period, extending over some years, in which they were gradually becoming the one less and less, and the other more and more. And as it suited the purposes of his comparison to look at the change in himself only when it was completed, so it will suit our object here to regard it while in progress, to consider what it is, to ask the two great questions, how far it can be hastened, and how far it ought to be hastened.

"When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." It will be seen at once, that when the Apostle speaks of thought and understanding, (*ἐφρόνουν, ἐλογιζόμην,*) he does not mean the mere intellect, but all the notions, feelings, and desires of our minds, which partake of an intellectual and of a moral character together. He is comparing what we should call the whole nature and character of childhood with those of manhood. Let us see, for a moment, in what they most strikingly differ.

Our Lord's well known words suggest a difference in the first place, which is in favour of childhood. When He says, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye can in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven," He must certainly ascribe some one quality to childhood, in which manhood is generally deficient. And the quality which he means is clearly humility; or to speak perhaps more correctly, teachableness. It is impossible that a child can have that confidence in himself, which disposes him to be his own guide. He must of necessity lean on others, he must follow others, and therefore he must believe others. There is in his mind, properly speaking, nothing which can be called prejudice; he will not as yet refuse to listen, as thinking that he knows better than his adviser. One feeling, therefore, essential to the perfection of every created and reasonable being, childhood has by the very law of its nature; a child cannot help believing that there are some who are greater, wiser, better than himself, and he is disposed to follow their guidance.

This sense of comparative weakness is founded upon truth, for a child is of course unfit to guide himself. Without noticing mere bodily helplessness, a child knows scarcely what is good and what is evil; his desires for the highest good are not yet in existence; his moral sense altogether is exceedingly weak, and would yield readily to the first temptation. And, because those higher feelings, which are the great check to selfishness, have not yet arisen within him, the selfish instinct, connected apparently with all animal life, is exceedingly predominant in him. If a child then on the one hand be teachable, yet he is at the same time morally weak and ignorant, and therefore extremely selfish.

It is also a part of the nature of childhood to be the slave of present impulses. A child is not apt to look backwards or forwards, to reflect, or to calculate. In this also he differs entirely from the great quality which befits man as an eternal being, the being able to look before and after.

Not to embarrass ourselves with too many points, we may be content with these four characteristics of childhood, teachableness, ignorance, selfishness, and living only for the present. In the last three of these, the perfect man should put away childish things; in the first point, or teachableness, while he retained it in principle, he should modify it in its application. For while modesty, humility,

and a readiness to learn, are becoming to men no less than to children; yet it should be not a simple readiness to follow others, but only to follow the wise and good; not a sense of utter helplessness, which catches at the first stay, whether sound or brittle; but such a consciousness of weakness and imperfection, as makes us long to be strengthened by Him who is almighty, to be purified by Him who is all pure.

I said, and it is an obvious truth, that the change from childhood to manhood is gradual; there is a period in our lives, of several years, in which we are, or should be, slowly exchanging the qualities of one state for those of the other. During this intermediate state, then, we should expect to find persons become less teachable, less ignorant, less selfish, less thoughtless. "Less teachable," I would wish to mean, in the sense of being "less indiscriminately teachable"; but as the evil and the good are, in human things, ever mixed up together, we may be obliged to mean "less teachable" simply. And, to say the very truth, if I saw in a young man the changes from childhood in the three other points, if I found him becoming wiser, and less selfish, and more thoughtful, I should not be very much disturbed if I found him for a time less teachable also. For whilst he was really becoming wiser and better, I should not much wonder if the sense of improvement rather than of imperfection possessed him too strongly; if his confidence in himself was a little too overweening. Let him go on a little farther in life, and if he really does go on improving in wisdom and goodness, this over-confidence will find its proper level. He will perceive not only how much he is doing, or can do, but how much there is which he does not do, and cannot. To a thoughtful mind added years can scarcely fail to teach humility. And in this the highest wisdom of manhood may be resembling more and more the state of what would be perfect childhood, that is, not simply teachableness, but teachableness with respect to what was good and true, and to that only.

But the danger of the intermediate state between childhood and manhood is too often this, that whilst in the one point of teachableness, the change runs on too fast, in the other three, of wisdom, of unselfishness, and of thoughtfulness, it proceeds much too slowly: that the faults of childhood thus remain in the character, whilst that quality by means of which these faults are meant to

be corrected, — namely, teachableness, — is at the same time diminishing. Now, teachableness as an instinct, if I may call it so, diminishes naturally with the consciousness of growing strength. By strength, I mean strength of body, no less than strength of mind, so closely are our body and mind connected with each other. The helplessness of childhood, which presses upon it every moment, the sense of inability to avoid or resist danger, which makes the child run continually to his nurse or to his mother for protection, cannot but diminish by the mere growth of the bodily powers. The boy feels himself to be less helpless than the child, and in that very proportion he is apt to become less teachable. As this feeling of decreased helplessness changes into a sense of positive vigour and power, and as this vigour and power confer an importance on their possessor, which is the case especially at schools, so self-confidence must, in one point at least, arise in the place of conscious weakness; and as this point is felt to be more important, so will the self-confident be likely to extend itself more and more over the whole character.

And yet, I am bound to say, that, in general, the teachableness of youth is, after all, much greater than we might at first sight fancy. Along with much self-confidence in many things, it is rare, I think, to find in a young man a deliberate pride that rejects advice and instruction, on the strength of having no need for them. And, therefore, the faults of boyhood and youth are more owing, to my mind, to the want of change in the other points of the childish character, than to the too great change in this. The besetting faults of youth appear to me to arise mainly from its retaining too often the ignorance, selfishness, and thoughtlessness of a child, and having arrived at the same time at a degree of bodily vigour and power, equal, or only a very little inferior, to those of manhood.

And, in this state of things, the questions become of exceeding interest, whether the change from childhood to manhood can be hastened, and how far it ought to be hastened. That it ought to be hastened, appears to me to be clear; hastened, I mean, from what it is actually, because in this respect, we do not grow in general fast enough; and the danger of overgrowth is, therefore, small. Besides, where change of one sort is going on very rapidly; where the limbs are growing, and the bones knitting more firmly, where the strength of bodily endurance, as well as of

bodily activity, is daily becoming greater; it is self-evident that, if the inward changes which ought to accompany these outward ones are making no progress, there cannot but be derangement and deformity in the system. And, therefore, when I look around, I cannot but wish generally that the change from childhood to manhood in the three great points of wisdom, of unselfishness, and of thoughtfulness, might be hastened from its actual rate of progress in most instances.

But then comes the other great question, "Can it be hastened, and, if it can, how is it to be done?" "Can it be hastened" means, of course, can it be hastened healthfully and beneficially, consistently with the due development of our nature in its after stages, from life temporal to life eternal? For as the child should grow up into the man, so also there is a term of years given in which, according to God's will, the natural man should grow up into the spiritual man; and we must not so press the first change as to make it interfere with the wholesome working of the second. The question then is, really, Can the change from childhood to manhood be hastened in the case of boys and young men in general from its actual rate of progress in ordinary cases, without injury to the future excellence and full development of the man? that is, without exhausting prematurely the faculties either of body or mind.

And this is a very grave question, one of the deepest interest for us and for you. For us, as, according to the answer to be given to it, should depend our whole conduct and feelings towards you in the matter of your education; for you, inasmuch as it is quite clear, that if the change from childhood to manhood can be hastened safely, it ought to be hastened; and that it is a sin in every one not to try to hasten it; because, to retain the imperfections of childhood when you can get rid of them, is in itself to forfeit the innocence of childhood; to exchange the condition of the innocent infant whom Christ blessed, for that of the unprofitable servant whom Christ condemned. For with the growth of our bodies evil will grow in us unavoidably; and then, if we are not positively good, we are, of necessity, positively sinners.

We will consider, then, what can be done to hasten this change in us healthfully; whether we can grow in wisdom, in love, and in thoughtfulness, faster in youth than we now commonly do grow:

and whether any possible danger can be connected with such increased exertion. This shall be our subject for consideration next Sunday. Meantime, let it be understood, that however extravagant it might be to hope for any general change in any moral point, as the direct result of setting truth before the mind; yet, that it never can be extravagant to hope for a practical result in some one or two particular cases; and that, if one or two even be impressed practically with what they hear, the good achieved, or, rather, the good granted us by God, is really beyond our calculation. It is so strictly; for who can worthily calculate the value of a single human soul? but it is so in this sense also, that the amount of general good which may be done in the end by doing good first in particular cases is really more than we can estimate. It was thus that Christ's original eleven apostles became, in the end, the instruments of the salvation of millions: and it is on this consideration that we never need despair of the most extensive improvements in society, if we are content to wait God's appointed time and order, and look for the salvation of the many as the gradual fruit of the salvation of a few.

August, 1839.

SERMON F. (No. III. in Vol. IV.)

1 Corinthians xiii. 11.

When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

After having noticed last Sunday what were those particular points in childhood which in manhood should be put away, and having observed that this change cannot take place all at once, but gradually, during a period of several years, I proposed to consider, as on this day, whether it were possible to hasten this change, that is, whether it could be hastened without injury to the future

development of the character; for undoubtedly, there is such a thing in minds, as well as in bodies, as precocious growth; and although it is not so frequent as precocious growth in the body, nor by any means so generally regarded as an evil, yet it is really a thing to be deprecated; and we ought not to adopt such measures as might be likely to occasion it.

Now I believe the only reason which could make it supposed to be possible that there could be danger in hastening this change, is drawn from the observation of what takes place sometimes with regard to intellectual advancement. It is seen that some young men of great ambition, or remarkable love of knowledge, do really injure their health, and exhaust their minds, by an excess of early study. I always grieve over such cases exceedingly; not only for the individual's sake who is the sufferer, but also for the mischievous effect of his example. It affords a pretence to others to justify their own want of exertion; and those to whom it is in reality the least dangerous, are always the very persons who seem to dread it the most. But we should clearly understand, that this excess of intellectual exertion at an early age, is by no means the same thing with hastening the change from childishness to manliness. We are all enough aware, in common life, that a very clever and forward boy may be, in his conduct, exceeding childish; that those whose talents and book-knowledge are by no means remarkable, may be, in their conduct, exceedingly manly. Examples of both these truths instantly present themselves to my memory, and perhaps may do so to some of yours. I may say farther, that some whose change from childhood to manhood had been, in St Paul's sense of the terms, the most remarkably advanced, were so far from being distinguished for their cleverness or proficiency in their school-work, that it would almost seem as if their only remaining childishness had been displayed there. What I mean, therefore, by the change from childhood to manhood, is altogether distinct from a premature advance in book-knowledge, and involves in it nothing of that over-study which is dreaded as so injurious.

Yet it is true that I described the change from childhood to manhood, as a change from ignorance to wisdom. I did so, certainly; but yet, rare as knowledge is, wisdom is rarer; and knowledge, unhappily, can exist without wisdom, as wisdom can exist with a very inferior degree of knowledge. We shall see this,

if we consider what we mean by knowledge; and, without going into a more general definition of it, let us see what we mean by it here. We mean by it, either a knowledge of points of scholarship, of grammar, and matters connected with grammar; or a knowledge of history and geography; or a knowledge of mathematics; or, it may be, of natural history; or, if we use the term, "knowledge of the world," then we mean, I think, a knowledge of points of manner and fashion; such a knowledge as may save us from exposing ourselves in trifling things, by awkwardness or inexperience. Now the knowledge of none of these things brings us of necessity any nearer to real thoughtfulness, such as alone gives wisdom, than the knowledge of a well-contrived game. Some of you, probably, well know that there are games from which chance is wholly excluded, and skill in which is only the result of much thought and calculation. There is no doubt that the game of chess may properly be called an intellectual study; but why does it not, and cannot, make any man wise? Because, in the first place, the calculations do but respect the movements of little pieces of wood or ivory, and not those of our own minds and hearts; and, again, they are calculations which have nothing to do whatever with our being better men, or worse, with our pleasing God, or displeasing Him. And what is true of this game, is true no less of the highest calculations of astronomy, of the profoundest researches into language; nay, what may seem stranger still, it is often true no less of the deepest study even of the actions and principles of man's nature; and, strangest of all, it may be, and is often true, also, of the study of the very Scripture itself; and that, not only of the incidental points of Scripture, its antiquities, chronology, and history, but of its very most divine truths, of man's justification, and of God's nature. Here, indeed, we are considering about things where wisdom, so to speak, sits enshrined. We are very near her; we see the place where she abides; but her very self we obtain not. And why?—but because, in the most solemn study, no less than in the lightest, our own moral state may be set apart from our consideration; we may be unconscious all the while of our great want; and forgetting our great business, to be reconciled to God, and to do His will: for wisdom, to speak properly, is to us nothing else than the true answer to the Philippian jailor's question, "What must I do to be saved?"

Now then, as knowledge of all kinds may be gained without being received, or meant at all to be applied, as the answer to this question, so it may be quite distinct from wisdom. And when I use the term thoughtfulness, as opposed to a child's carelessness, I mean it to express an anxiety for the obtaining of this wisdom. And farther, I do not see how this wisdom, or this thoughtfulness, can be premature in any one; or how it can exhaust before their time any faculties, whether of body or mind. This requires no sitting up late at night, no giving up of healthful exercise; it brings no headaches, no feverishness, no strong excitement at first, to be followed by exhaustion afterwards. Hear how it is described by one who spoke of it from experience. "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." There is surely nothing of premature exhaustion connected with any one of these things.

Or, if we turn to the third point of change from childhood to a Christian manhood, the change from selfishness to unselfishness, neither can we find any possible danger in hastening this. This cannot hurt our health or strain our faculties; it can but make life at every age more peaceful and more happy. Nor indeed do I suppose that any one could fancy that such a change was otherwise than wholesome, at the earliest possible period.

There may remain, however, a vague notion, that, generally, if what we mean by an early change from childishness to manliness be that we should become religious, then, although it may not exhaust the powers, or injure the health, yet it would destroy the natural liveliness and gaiety of youth, and by bringing on a premature seriousness of manner and language, would be unbecoming and ridiculous. Now, in the first place, there is a great deal of confusion and a great deal of folly in the common notions of the gaiety of youth. If gaiety mean real happiness of mind, I do not believe that there is more of it in youth than in manhood; if for this reason only, that the temper in youth being commonly not yet brought into good order, irritation and passion are felt, probably, oftener than in after life, and these are sad drawbacks, as we all know, to a real cheerfulness of mind. And of the outward gaiety of youth, there is a part also which is like the gaiety of a drunken man; which is riotous, insolent, and annoying to others;

which, in short, is a folly and a sin. There remains that which strictly belongs to youth, partly physically—the lighter step and the lively movement of the growing and vigorous body; partly from circumstances, because a young person's parents or friends stand between him and many of the cares of life, and protect him from feeling them altogether; partly from the abundance of hope which belongs to the beginning of every thing, and which continually hinders the mind from dwelling on past pain. And I know not which of these causes of gaiety would be taken away or lessened by the earlier change from childhood to manhood. True it is, that the question, "What must I do to be saved?" is a grave one, and must be considered seriously; but I do not suppose that any one proposes that a young person should never be serious at all. True it is, again, that if we are living in folly and sin, this question may be a painful one; we might be gayer for a time without it. But, then, the matter is, what is to become of us if we do not think of being saved?—shall we be saved without thinking of it? and what is it to be not saved but lost? I cannot pretend to say that the thought of God would not very much disturb the peace and gaiety of an ungodly and sinful mind; that it would not interfere with the mirth of the bully, or the drunkard, or the reveller, or the glutton, or the idler, or the fool. It would, no doubt; just as the hand that was seen to write on the wall threw a gloom over the guests at Belshazzar's festival. I never meant or mean to say, that the thought of God, or that God himself, can be other than a plague to those who do not love Him. The thought of Him is their plague here; the sight of Him will be their judgment for ever. But I suppose the point is, whether the thought of Him would cloud the gaiety of those who were striving to please Him. It would cloud it as much, and be just as unwelcome and no more, as will be the very actual presence of our Lord to the righteous, when they shall see Him as He is. Can that which we know to be able to make old age, and sickness, and poverty, many times full of comfort,—can that make youth and health gloomy? When to natural cheerfulness and sanguineness, are added a consciousness of God's ever present care, and a knowledge of His rich promises, are we likely to be the more sad or the more unhappy?

What reason, then, is there for any one's not anticipating the

common progress of Christian manliness, and hastening to exchange, as I said before, ignorance for wisdom, selfishness for unselfishness, carelessness for thoughtfulness? I see no reason why we should not; but is there no reason why we should? You are young, and for the most part strong and healthy; I grant that, humanly speaking, the chances of early death to any particular person among you are small. But still, considering what life is, even to the youngest and strongest, it does seem a fearful risk to be living unredeemed; to be living in that state, that if we should happen to die, (it may be very unlikely, but still it is clearly possible,)—that if we should happen to die, we should be most certainly lost for ever. Risks, however, we do not mind; the chances, we think, are in our favour, and we will run the hazard. It may be so; but he who delays to turn to God when the thought has been once put before him, is incurring something more than a risk. He may not die these fifty or sixty years; we cannot tell how that may be; but he is certainly at this very present time hardening his heart, and doing despite unto the Spirit of Grace. By the very wickedness of putting off turning to God till a future time, he lessens his power of turning to Him ever. This is certain; no one can reject God's call without becoming less likely to hear it when it is made to him again. And thus the lingering wilfully in the evil things of childhood, when we might be at work in putting them off, and when God calls us to do so, is an infinite risk, and a certain evil;—an infinite risk, for it is living in such a state that death at any moment would be certain condemnation; —and a certain evil, because, whether we live or not, we are actually raising up barriers between ourselves and our salvation; we not only do not draw nigh to God, but we are going farther from Him, and lessening our power of drawing nigh to Him hereafter.

August, 1839.

SERMON G. (No. IV. in Vol. IV.)

COLOSSIANS i. 9.

We do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding.

THIS is the first of three verses, all of them forming a part of the Epistle which was read this morning, and containing St Paul's prayer for the Colossians in all the several points of Christian excellence. And the first thing which he desires for them, as we have heard, is, that they should be filled with the knowledge of God's will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; or, as he expresses the same thing to the Ephesians, that they should be not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. He prays for the Colossians that they should not be spiritually foolish, but that they should be spiritually wise.

The state of spiritual folly is, I suppose, one of the most universal evils in the world. For the number of those who are naturally foolish is exceedingly great; of those, I mean, who understand no worldly thing well; of those who are careless about every thing, carried about by every breath of opinion, without knowledge, and without principle. But the term spiritual folly includes, unhappily, a great many more than these; it takes in not those only who are in the common sense of the term foolish, but a great many who are in the common sense of the term clever, and many who are even in the common sense of the terms, prudent, sensible, thoughtful, and wise. It is but too evident that some of the ablest men who have ever lived upon earth, have been in no less a degree spiritually fools. And thus, it is not without much truth that Christian writers have dwelt upon the insufficiency of worldly wisdom, and have warned their readers to beware, lest, while professing themselves to be wise, they should be accounted as fools in the sight of God.

But the opposite to this notion, that those who are, as it were, fools in worldly matters, are wise before God; although this also is true in a certain sense, and under certain peculiar circumstances, yet taken generally, it is the very reverse of truth; and the careless

and incautious language which has been often used on this subject, has been extremely mischievous. On the contrary, he who is foolish in worldly matters is likely also to be, and most commonly is, no less foolish in the things of God. And the opposite belief has arisen mainly from that strange confusion between ignorance and innocence, with which many ignorant persons seem to solace themselves. Whereas, if you take away a man's knowledge, you do not bring him to the state of an infant, but to that of a brute; and of one of the most mischievous and malignant of the brute creation. For you do not lessen or weaken the man's body by lowering his mind; he still retains his strength and his passions, the passions leading to self-indulgence, the strength which enables him to feed them by continued gratification. He will not think it is true to any good purpose; it is very possible to destroy in him the power of reflection, whether as exercised upon outward things, or upon himself and his own nature, or upon God. But you cannot destroy the power of adapting means to ends, nor that of concealing his purposes by fraud or falsehood; you take only his wisdom, and leave that cunning which marks so notoriously both the savage and the madman. He, then, who is a fool as far as regards earthly things, is much more a fool with regard to heavenly things; he who cannot raise himself even to the lower height, how is he to attain to the higher? he who is without reason and conscience, how shall he be endowed with the Spirit of God?

It is my deep conviction and long experience of this truth, which makes me so grieve over a want of interest in your own improvement in human learning, whenever I observe it, over the prevalence of a thoughtless and childish spirit amongst you. I grant that as to the first point there are sometimes exceptions to be met with; that is to say, I have known persons certainly whose interest in their work here was not great, and their proficiency consequently was small; but who, I do not doubt, were wise unto God. But then these persons, whilst they were indifferent perhaps about their common school-work, were any thing but indifferent as to the knowledge of the Bible: there was no carelessness there; but they read, and read frequently, books of practical improvement, or relating otherwise to religious matters, such as many, I believe, would find even less inviting than the books of their common business. So that although there was a neglect undoubtedly of

many parts of the school-work, yet there was no spirit of thoughtlessness or childishness in them, nor of general idleness; and therefore, although I know that their minds did suffer and have suffered from their unwise neglect of a part of their duty, yet there was so much attention bestowed on other parts, and so manifest and earnest a care for the things of God, that it was impossible not to entertain for them the greatest respect and regard. These, however, are such rare cases, that it cannot be necessary to do more than thus notice them. But the idleness and want of interest which I grieve for, is one which extends itself but too impartially to knowledge of every kind: to divine knowledge, as might be expected, even more than to human. Those whom we commonly find careless about their general lessons, are quite as ignorant and as careless about their Bibles; those who have no interest in general literature, in poetry, or in history, or in philosophy, have certainly no greater interest, I do not say in works of theology, but in works of practical devotion, in the lives of holy men, in meditations, or in prayers. Alas, the interest of their minds is bestowed on things far lower than the very lowest of all which I have named; and, therefore, to see them desiring something only a little higher than their present pursuits, could not but be encouraging; it would, at least, show that the mind was rising upwards. It may, indeed, stop at a point short of the highest, it may learn to love earthly excellence, and rest there contented, and seek for nothing more perfect; but that, at any rate, is a future and merely contingent evil. It is better to love earthly excellence than earthly folly; it is far better in itself, and it is, by many degrees, nearer to the kingdom of God.

There is another case, however, which I cannot but think is more frequent now than formerly; and if it is so, it may be worth while to direct our attention to it. Common idleness and absolute ignorance are not what I wish to speak of now, but a character advanced above these; a character which does not neglect its school-lessons, but really attains to considerable proficiency in them; a character at once regular and amiable, abstaining from evil, and for evil in its lower and grosser forms having a real abhorrence. What, then, you will say, is wanting here? I will tell you what seems to be wanting,—a spirit of manly, and much more of Christian, thoughtfulness. There is quickness and cleverness;

much pleasure, perhaps, in distinction, but little in improvement; there is no desire of knowledge for its own sake, whether human or divine. There is, therefore, but little power of combining and digesting what is read; and, consequently, what is read passes away, and takes no root in the mind. This same character shows itself in matters of conduct; it will adopt, without scruple, the most foolish, common-place notions of boys, about what is right and wrong; it will not, and cannot, from the lightness of its mind, concern itself seriously about what is evil in the conduct of others, because it takes no regular care of its own, with reference to pleasing God; it will not do any thing low or wicked, but it will sometimes laugh at those who do; and it will by no means take pains to encourage, nay, it will sometimes thwart and oppose any thing that breathes a higher spirit, and asserts a more manly and Christian standard of duty.

I have thought that this character, with its features more or less strongly marked, has shown itself sometimes amongst us, marring the good and amiable qualities of those in whom we can least bear to see such a defect, because there is in them really so much to interest in their favour. Now the number of persons of extraordinary abilities who may be here at any one time can depend on no calculable causes: nor, again, can we give any reason more than what we call accident, if there were to be amongst us at any one time a number of persons whose whole tendency was decidedly to evil. But if, in these respects, the usual average has continued, if there is no lack of ability, and nothing like a prevalence of vice, then we begin anxiously to inquire into the causes, which, while other things remain the same, have led to a different result. And one cause I do find, which is certainly capable of producing such a result; a cause undoubtedly in existence now, and as certainly not in existence a few years back; nor can I trace any other besides this which appears likely to have produced the same effect. This cause consists in the number and character and cheapness, and peculiar mode of publication, of the works of amusement of the present day. In all these respects the change is great, and extremely recent. The works of amusement published only a very few years since were comparatively few in number; they were less exciting, and therefore less attractive; they were dearer, and therefore less accessible;

and, not being published periodically, they did not occupy the mind for so long a time, nor keep alive so constant an expectation; nor, by thus dwelling upon the mind, and distilling themselves into it as it were drop by drop, did they possess it so largely, colouring even, in many instances, its very language, and affording frequent matter for conversation.

The evil of all these circumstances is actually enormous. The mass of human minds, and much more of the minds of young persons, have no great appetite for intellectual exercise; but they have some, which by careful treatment may be strengthened and increased. But here to this weak and delicate appetite is presented an abundance of the most stimulating and least nourishing food possible. It snatches it greedily, and is not only satisfied, but actually conceives a distaste for anything simpler and more wholesome. That curiosity which is wisely given us to lead us on to knowledge, finds its full gratification in the details of an exciting and protracted story, and then lies down as it were gorged, and goes to sleep. Other faculties claim their turn, and have it. We know that in youth the healthy body and lively spirits require exercise, and in this they may and ought to be indulged; but the time and interest which remain over when the body has had its enjoyment, and the mind desires its share, this has been already wasted and exhausted upon things utterly unprofitable: so that the mind goes to its work hurriedly and languidly, and feels it to be no more than a burden. The mere lessons may be learnt from a sense of duty; but that freshness of power, which in young persons of ability would fasten eagerly upon some one portion or other of the wide field of knowledge, and there expatiate, drinking in health and strength to the mind, as surely as the natural exercise of the body gives to it bodily vigour,—that is tired prematurely, perverted, and corrupted; and all the knowledge which else it might so covet, it now seems a wearying effort to attain.

Great and grievous as is the evil, it is peculiarly hard to find the remedy for it. If the books to which I have been alluding were books of downright wickedness, we might destroy them wherever we found them; we might forbid their open circulation; we might conjure you to shun them as you would any other clear sin, whether of word or deed. But they are not wicked books for

the most part; they are of that class which cannot be actually prohibited; nor can it be pretended that there is a sin in reading them. They are not the more wicked for being published so cheap, and at regular intervals; but yet these two circumstances make them so peculiarly injurious. All that can be done is to point out the evil; that it is real and serious I am very sure, and its effects are most deplorable on the minds of the fairest promise; but the remedy for it rests with yourselves, or rather with each of you individually, so far as he is himself concerned. That an unnatural and constant excitement of the mind is most injurious there is no doubt; that excitement involves a consequent weakness, is a law of our nature than which none is surer; that the weakness of mind thus produced is and must be adverse to quiet study and thought, to that reflection which alone is wisdom, is also clear in itself, and proved too largely by experience. And that without reflection there can be no spiritual understanding, is at once evident; while without spiritual understanding, that is, without a knowledge and a study of God's will, there can be no spiritual life. And therefore childishness and unthoughtfulness cannot be light evils; and if I have rightly traced the prevalence of these defects to its cause, although that cause may seem to some to be trifling, yet surely it is well to call your attention to it, and to remind you that in reading works of amusement, as in every other lawful pleasure, there is and must be an abiding responsibility in the sight of God; that, like other lawful pleasures, we must beware of excess in it; and not only so, but that if we find it hurtful to us, either because we have used it too freely in times past, or because our nature is too weak to bear it, that then we are bound most solemnly to abstain from it; because, however lawful in itself, or to others who can practise it without injury, whatever is to us an hindrance in the way of our intellectual and moral and spiritual improvement, that is in our case a positive sin.

November, 1839.

SERMON H. (No. X. IN VOL. IV.)

1 TIMOTHY i. 9.

The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for the unholy and profane.

THESE words explain the meaning of a great many passages in St Paul's Epistles, in which also he speaks of the law, and of not being under the law, and other such expressions. And it is clear also, that he is not speaking solely, or chiefly, or, in any considerable degree, of the ceremonial law; but much more of the law of moral good, the law which told men how they ought to live, and how they ought not. This law, he says, is not made for good men, but for evil: a thing so plain, that we may well wonder how any could ever have misunderstood it. It is so manifest, that strict rules are required, just exactly in proportion to our inability or want of will to rule ourselves; it is so very plain, that, with regard to those crimes which we are under no temptation to commit, we feel exactly as if there were no law. Which of us ever thinks, as a matter of personal concern, of the law which sentences to death murderers, or housebreakers, or those who maliciously set fire to their neighbour's property? Do we not feel that, as far as our own conduct is concerned, it would be exactly the same thing if no such law were in existence? We should no more murder, or rob, or set fire to houses and barns, if the law were wholly done away, than we do now that it is in force.

There are, then, some points in which we feel practically that we are not under the law, but dead to it, that the law is not made for us; but do we think, therefore, that we may murder, and rob, and burn? or do we not rather feel that such a notion would be little short of madness? We are not under the law, because we do not need it; not because there is in reality no law to punish us if we do need it. And just of this kind is that general freedom from the law, of which St Paul speaks, as the high privilege of true Christians.

But yet St Paul would not at all mean that any Christian is altogether without the law; that is, that there are no points at all

in which his inclination is not to evil, and in which, therefore, he needs the fear of God to restrain him from it. When he says of himself, that he kept under his body lest that by any means he should become a castaway, just so far as this fear of being a castaway possessed him, that is, just so far as there were any evil tendencies in him, which required him to keep them under by an effort, just so far was he under the law. And this is so, as we full well know, with us all; for as there is none of us in whom sin is utterly dead, so neither can there be any of us who is altogether dead to the law.

Yet although this be so, yet there is no doubt that the gospel wishes to consider us as generally dead to the law, in order that we really may become so continually more and more. It supposes that the Spirit of God, presenting to our minds the sight of God's love in Christ, sets us free from the law of sin and death; that is, that a sense of thankfulness to God, and love of God and of Christ, will be so strong a motive, that we shall, generally speaking, need no other; that it will so work upon us, as to make us feel good easy and delightful, and thus to become dead to the law. And there is no doubt also, that that same freedom from the law, which we ourselves experience daily, in respect of some particular great crimes, (for, as I said, we do not feel that it is the fear of the law which keeps us from murder or from robbing,) that very same freedom is felt by good men in many other points, where it may be, that we ourselves do not feel it. A common instance may be given with respect to prayer, and the outward worship of God. There are a great many who feel this as a duty; but there are many also to whom it is not so much a duty, as a privilege and a pleasure; and these are dead to the law which commands us to be instant in prayer, just as we, in general, are dead to the law which commands us to do no murder.

This being understood, it will be perfectly plain, why St Paul, along with all his language as to the law being passed away, and our being become dead to it, yet uses, very frequently, language of another kind, which shows that the law is not dead in itself, but lives, and ever will live. He says, "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he has done in the body.' And he adds, "Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." But the judgment,

and the terror of the Lord, mean precisely what are meant by the law. And this language of St Paul shows more clearly, that, unless we are first dead to the law, the law is not, and never will be dead to us.

I should not have thought it useless, to have offered merely this explanation of a language, which is very common in the New Testament, which forms one of its characteristic points, (for St John's expression of "Perfect love casteth out fear" is exactly equivalent to St Paul's, "That we are dead to the law,") and which has been often misunderstood, or misrepresented. But yet, I am well aware, that mere explanations of Scripture cannot be expected to interest those to whom Scripture is not familiar. The answer to a riddle would be very soon forgotten, unless the riddle had first at once amused and puzzled us. Just so, explanations of Scripture, to be at all valued, must suppose a previous knowledge of, and desire to understand, the difficulty; and this we cannot expect to find in very young persons. Thus far, then, what I have said has been necessarily addressed, I do not say, or mean, to the oldest part of my hearers only, but yet to the older, and more considering part of them. But the subject is capable, I think, of being brought much more closely home to us; for what St Paul says of the law, with reference to all mankind, is precisely that state of mind which one would wish to see here; and the mistakes of his meaning are just such as are often prevalent, and are likely to do great mischief, with regard to the motives to be appealed to in education.

Now, what is the case in the Scripture? Men had been subject to a strict law of rewards and punishments, appealing directly to their hopes, and to their fears. The gospel offered itself to them, as a declaration of God's love to them; so wonderful, that it seemed as though it could not but excite them to love him in return. It also raised their whole nature; their understandings, no less than their affections; and thus led them to do God's will, from another and higher feeling than they had felt heretofore; to do it, not because they must, but because they loved it. And to such as answered to this heavenly call, God laid aside, if I may venture so to speak, all His terrors; He showed Himself to them only as a loving father, between whom and his children there was nothing but mutual affection; who would be loved by them, and love them for ever. But to those who answered not to it, and far more, who

dared to abuse it; who thought that God's love was weakness; that the liberty to which they were called, was the liberty of devils, the liberty of doing evil as they would; to all such, God was still a consuming fire, and their most merciful Saviour Himself was a judge to try their very hearts and reins; in short, the gospel was to them, not salvation, but condemnation; it awakened not the better, but the baser parts of their nature; it did not do away, but doubled their guilt, and, therefore, brought upon them, and will bring through all eternity, a double measure of punishment.

Now all this applies exactly to that earlier and, as it were, preparatory life, which ends not in death, but in manhood. The state of boyhood begins under a law. It is a great mistake to address always the reason of a child, when you ought rather to require his obedience. Do this, do not do that; if you do this, I shall love you; if you do not, I shall punish you;—such is the state, most clearly a state of law, under which we are, and must be, placed at the beginning of education. But we should desire and endeavour to see this state of law succeeded by something better; we should desire so to unfold the love of Christ as to draw the affections towards him; we should desire so to raise the understanding as that it may fasten itself, by its own native tendrils, round the pillar of truth, without requiring to be bound to it by external bands. We should avoid all unnecessary harshness; we should speak and act with all possible kindness; because love, rather than fear, love both of God and man, is the motive which we particularly wish to awaken. Thus, keeping punishment in the background and, as it were, out of sight, and putting forward encouragement and kindness, we should attract, as it were, the good and noble feelings of those with whom we are dealing, and invite them to open, and to answer to, a system of confidence and kindness, rather than risk the chilling and hardening them by a system of mistrust and severity.

And for those who do answer to this call, how really true is it that they do soon become dead, in great measure, to the law of the place where they are living! How little do they generally feel its restraints, or its tasks, burdensome! How very little have they to do with its punishments! Led on by degrees continually higher and higher, their relations with us become more and more relations of entire confidence and kindness; and when at last their trial is

over, and they pass from this first life as I have ventured to call it, into their second life of manhood, how beautifully are they ripened for that state! how naturally do all the restraints of this first life fall away, like the mortal body of the perfected Christian; and they enter upon the full liberty of manhood, fitted at once to enjoy and to improve it!

But observe, that St Paul does not suppose even the best Christian to be without the law altogether: there will ever be some points in which he will need to remember it. And so it is unkindness, rather than kindness, and a very mischievous mistake, to forget that here, in this our preparatory life, the law cannot cease altogether with any one; that it is not possible to find a perfect sense and feeling of right existing in every action: nay, that it is even unreasonable to seem to expect it. Little faults, little irregularities, there always will be, with which the law is best fitted to deal; which should be met, I mean, by a system of rules and of punishments, not severe, certainly, nor one at all inconsistent with general respect, kindness, and confidence; but which check the particular faults alluded to better, I think, than could be done by seeming to expect of the individual that he should, in all such cases, be a law to himself. There is a possibility of our overstraining the highest principles, by continually appealing to them on very trifling occasions. It is far better, here, to apply the system of the law; to require obedience to rules, as a matter of discipline; to visit the breach of them by moderate punishment, not given in anger, not at all inconsistent with general confidence and regard, but gently reminding us of that truth which we may never dare wholly to forget,—that punishment will exist eternally so long as there is evil, and that the only way of remaining for ever entirely strangers to it, is by adhering for ever and entirely to good.

This applies to every one amongst us; and is the reason why rules, discipline, and punishments, however much they may be, and are, kept in the back ground for such as have become almost wholly dead to them, must yet continue in existence, because none are, or can be, dead to them altogether. But now, suppose that we have a nature to deal with, which cannot answer to a system of kindness, but abuses it; which, when punishment is kept at a distance, rejoices, as thinking that it may follow evil safely; a

nature not to be touched by the love of God or man, not to be guided by any perception of its own as to what is right and true. Is the law dead really to such as these? or should it be so? Is punishment a degradation to a nature which is so self-degraded as to be incapable of being moved by anything better? For this is the real degradation which we should avoid; not the fear of punishment, which is not at all degrading, but the being insensible to the love of Christ and of goodness; and so being capable of receiving no other motive than the fear of punishment alone. With such natures, to withhold punishment, would be indeed to make Christ the minister of sin; to make mercy, that is, lead to evil, and not to good. For them, the law never is dead, and never will be. Here, of course, in this first life, as I have called it, punishment indeed goes but a little way: it is very easy for a hardened nature to defy all that could be laid upon it here in the way of actual compulsion. Our only course is to cut short the time of trial, when we find a nature in whom that trial cannot end in good. Still there may be those in whom this life here, like their greater life which shall last for ever, will have far more to do with punishment than with kindness; they will be living all their time under the law. Continue this to our second life, and the law then will be no less alive, and they will never be dead to it, nor will it be ever dead to them. And however a hardened nature may well despise the punishments of its first life,—punishments, whose whole object is correction, and not retribution,—yet, where is the nature so hard as to endure, in its relations with God, to feel more of His punishment than of His mercy; to know Him for ever as a God of judgment, and not as a Father of love?

November 13th, 1836.

SERMON I. (No. V. IN VOL. V.)

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

ST LUKE xix. 45, 46, 47.

And He went into the Temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought; saying unto them, It is written, My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves. And He taught daily in the Temple.

THIS action of our Lord's, taken in its direct and historical form, was no more than a lesson of reverence for places set apart for sacred purposes, a lesson against common profaneness. In this sense it is probably not greatly needed now; for the profanation of churches by converting them to common worldly uses is not a prevailing fault; nor, again, are our Christian churches so like the Temple at Jerusalem, nor our worship and state so like that of the Jews, as that all which was profaneness in the Temple would be profaneness if done in a church. I do not propose therefore to dwell upon our Lord's action according to this its outward and historical form, any farther than merely to say that there is undoubtedly such a sin as profaneness, and that it is shown by an irreverent treatment of places which our common feeling regards as sacred.

But ascending from the mere outward form of our Lord's act, to what may be called its spirit and meaning, we find more than one sense in which it may be taken. "Christ cleansed His temple, so do thou thy heart," is the expression of one of our best sacred poets, and the allusion is quite allowable and just. For the heart of every Christian is properly God's temple, where every evil thought is a profanation against the Holy Spirit abiding in us. In this respect, how continually is God's house of prayer changed into a den of thieves; how often does the din of all evil passion drown the offering of prayer and praise, which the Christian within the temple of his heart should continually offer!

Yet neither is this the sense of our Lord's action on which I purpose now to dwell. I shall not speak of profaneness committed against His temples of brick and stone made by men's hands, nor

yet of profaneness committed against His most inward and spiritual temple—the redeemed soul of each particular Christian, in which the Holy Spirit dwells. There is a third sort of Christian temple, which may be and is profaned daily; not a temple of brick and stone, nor yet the single soul of an individual man, but a Christian society formed for God's glory, and consecrated by God's presence; for "wheresoever," says Christ, "two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." In this sense the whole Christian Church is called the temple of God, and sinfulness in the church is especially a profanation of God's holy temple.

But yet neither am I going to speak of this sort of profaneness. What the whole Christian church is in general, that all particular churches are separately: and that too are all Christian societies formed for some good and Christian end. We here assembled are undoubtedly such a temple. I speak not of this particular building in which we meet for divine worship, nor do I speak of our own individual souls, although they too are each God's temple, and are each continually profaned; but I speak of us as a society, as a school, as a Christian school, as a place, that is, to which the sons of Christian parents, and of no other, are sent to receive a Christian education. Such a society is beyond all doubt in its idea or institution a temple of God; God's blessing is upon it, Christ and Christ's Spirit dwell in the midst of it.

I say that such a society is *in its idea or institution* God's temple. And so only are we each individually God's temple, so only is the church itself. The temple may be in fact profaned, the service of God in it may in fact be not only interrupted but utterly done away; God who dwelt in it may have been so grieved with the profanations done in it, as to depart from it altogether. This may be the case with individual Christians, or with the church itself; and so also it may be the case with any smaller society. I assume nothing, therefore, as to our actual state; I do not say whether the profanation done here is much or little, but I say, that considered as a Christian school, which we profess to be, we are undoubtedly a temple of God, and God is with us, and Christ is in us.

Now that Jewish temple, from which our Lord drove out the buyers and sellers, was as we know in its outward appearance most magnificent and imposing. "Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!" was the language of the disciples as

they looked with admiration on the grandeur of the fabric. But this fair and goodly building had been made no less a den of thieves. And so with us, it cannot be anything in our outward condition, as to numbers, reputation, or such points, which can ensure our being truly, as we are in theory, and as we ought to be, a temple of God.

Every one, it is true, knows this, and every one if asked would acknowledge it. But yet it is true, also, that we are all apt to be dazzled by any outward prosperity; that we are apt to be proud of our numbers and reputation, and perhaps to relax our anxiety, as if we thought that our care were under such circumstances less needed. Whereas in fact it never was or could be more needed; and the sense of outward prosperity is most naturally accompanied in every thinking mind, not by exultation, but by humiliation and fear.

There is, however, in a Christian a better feeling even than this just and godly fear; and that is, a lively and a godly zeal. Prosperity, whilst it strikes us with awe, may and ought also to encourage us to greater exertions. It is very fearful to think of the sin and the shame of letting this temple of God be profaned, of letting it be so overrun with evil that from a house of prayer it should have become a den of thieves. But, is it not also an enkindling and encouraging thought, to dwell on the blessing of not suffering it to be so profaned; of driving out in Christ's power the evil that would most corrupt us; of being indeed a temple of God, wherein His praise should be not only spoken with our lips, but acted in our lives?

I think that this is very encouraging and enkindling to every one who wishes to serve God. But by "encouraging and enkindling," I mean, of course, encouraging and enkindling to exertion. It is but folly to say, "How delightful would it be if it were so!" and not rather to say, "This is indeed so glorious and blessed a thing, that I will labour heart and soul that it shall be so."

I well know that such labour becomes us, the older part of our society, most of all, and that our sin is the heaviest of all if we neglect it. But it is no less true that you have your share in the work also, and that more depends upon you than upon us. Nor is your sin light if you neglect it; I mean, that every one of you has a duty to perform towards the school, and that over and above the sin of his own particular faults, he incurs a sin, I think even greater, by encouraging faults or discouraging good in others; and farther

still, that he incurs a sin, less I grant than in the last case, but still considerable, by being altogether indifferent to the conduct of others, by doing nothing to discourage evil, nothing to encourage good.

Every one of you has such a duty, and has to beware of such a sin. And by all I fear the duty is often neglected, and the sin in some degree committed. Nor, making every allowance for the difficulties of particular cases, can ignorance, I fear, be generally pleaded as an excuse. I do not think that it is so much owing to ignorance, as to indifference and to fear; indifference about God's service,—fear of what may be said or done by man. Now it would be very easy to show on lower grounds, that such neglect is really against the good of the school, even using that term in a common worldly sense;—it would be very easy to show that those who are fond of the school,—and I believe that there are a great many such,—show their regard for it in a strange way, by taking no pains to check what is evil in it. But I really am ashamed to press such grounds, when the true Christian ground is so infinitely stronger than any other to those who have been baptized into Christ's service. For if we do not acknowledge our duty to struggle against all evil everywhere, and to set up Christ's service and Christ's kingdom, we do assuredly forswear the covenant of our baptism, we do deny the Lord who bought us, and shall be denied by Him before His Father and the holy angels.

Every one of you has such a duty, and has to beware of the sin of neglecting it. But as the neglect of it is worst of all in us, so it is in the next degree worst in those, who, in age and station and authority, are advanced above the rest of the school. I cannot deny, when I look round and see how many are here assembled,—I cannot deny that the oldest and most advanced among you have an anxious duty, a duty which some might suppose was too heavy for your years. But it seems to me the nobler as well as the truer way of stating the case to say, that it is the great privilege of this and other such institutions, to anticipate the common term of manhood; that by their whole training they fit the character for manly duties at an age when under another system such duties would be impracticable; that there is not imposed on you too heavy a burden, but that you are capable of bearing without injury what to others might be a burden; and therefore to diminish your duties and lessen your responsibility, would be no kindness but a degradation; it would be

an affront to you, and to the school,—for it would either be saying that you had been incapable of benefiting from the training of a public school system, or that that training, in our particular case, had degenerated ; a confession, either way, which God forbid that we should ever be obliged to make, as none could be more disgraceful.

I would say, however, a few words to another class of persons among you, to those whose station in the school is high, but yet does not invest them with actual authority, while their age is often such as to give them really an influence equal to that of those above them, or it may be superior. I will not say that these exercise an influence for evil, for such a charge can only apply to particular persons ; none exercise a direct influence for evil without being in some way evil themselves ; but I am sure that, as a class, they have much to answer for in standing aloof, and not discouraging evil and encouraging good. They forget that if they have not authority, they have what really amounts to the same thing ; they know that they are looked up to,—that what they say and do has its effect on others ; they know, in short, that they are of some consequence and weight in the school. But being so, they cannot escape the responsibility of their position. It matters nothing that the rules of the school confer on them no direct power. One far above any school authority has given them a power, and will call them to a strict account for its exercise. We may lay no official responsibility upon you, but God does. He has given you a talent which it is your sin to waste, or to lay by unimproved. And as it is most certain that you have an influence and power, and you well know it ; so remember that where there is power, there is ever a duty attached to it ;—if you can influence others,—as beyond all doubt you can, and do influence them daily,—if you do not influence them against evil and for good, you are wasting the talent entrusted to you, and sinning against God.

Again, I will speak to those who are yet younger, whose age and station in the school confer on them, it may be, no general influence. But see whether you too have not your influence, and whether you also do not sin often by neglecting it or misusing it. By whom is it that new boys are for the most part corrupted ? Not certainly by those much above them in the school, but necessarily by their own immediate companions. By whom are they laughed at for their conscientiousness, or reviled and annoyed for their knowledge or

their diligence? Not certainly by those at or near the head of the school, but by those of their own age and form. To whose annoyance does many a new boy owe the wretchedness of his life here? To whose influence and example has he owed the corruption of his practice, and of his principles,—his ruin here and for ever? Is it not to those nearly of his own age, with whom he is most led to associate? And can boys say that they have no influence, when they influence so notoriously the comfort and character of their neighbours? At this moment particularly, when so many new boys are just come amongst us, the younger or middle-aged boys have an especial influence, and let them beware how they use it. I know not what greater sin can be committed, than the so talking, and so acting, to a new boy, as to make him ashamed of anything good, or not ashamed of anything evil. It matters very little what is the age of a boy who exercises an influence like this. He too has anticipated the power of more advanced years, and in like manner he has contracted their guilt, and is liable to their punishment.

And now one word for those who are newly come amongst us, and who form at this moment no very minute portion of our society. If they have brought here good principles and a good practice, let them beware how they suffer them to be lost. They are numerous enough not to be swallowed up at once, as it were, in the society which they have joined; there is some influence which they ought to communicate as well as one which they must receive. The evil which they find may be the most noisy and forward part of our society; let them be satisfied that it does not represent us wholly. Let them be sure that there is much good also amongst us, which would gladly league itself to theirs. Let them not lightly surrender their consciences to a few of the vilest amongst us, as if these few spoke the sentiments and acted the practice of us all.

I must pause—but how much remains to be said, if we would follow up on the one hand the process of profanation by which God's temple is made a den of thieves,—or its worthy use, when Christ teaches daily in it, and His teaching is loved and followed. Surely the contrast between such a depth and such a height would not be uninstructive,—to see what we may be for good or for evil, and then to see what we are, and this may perhaps form a subject to which I may call your attention again.

RUGBY CHAPEL, *August* 23, 1840.

SERMON J. (No. VI. IN VOL. V.)

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

ST LUKE xix. 45, 46, 47.

And He went into the Temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought; saying unto them, It is written, My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves. And He taught daily in the Temple.

THE subject which I began last Sunday, appeared to me to be far from exhausted by what I then said. I spoke then of the influence which might be exercised by those of almost every age amongst us. I said how much that influence might do one way or the other towards making this our temple truly a house of prayer, or towards profaning it into a den of thieves. But it seemed that we might well go farther than this, and endeavour to represent to ourselves rather more distinctly what this profanation would be on the one hand, and what would be our fit sanctification on the other hand; that every one who is at all in earnest may know what he should wish to discourage and what to encourage; where his influence should be most carefully withheld, and where it should be most vigorously exerted.

"Ye have made this house," says Christ, "a den of thieves." Let us see what would be the complete profanation of our temple, answering to this strong expression of our Lord. God forbid that I should be representing what is our actual state; it is quite enough to excite our shame and to enkindle our exertions, if in any one point the picture to be drawn is a likeness of ourselves;—if in any number of points we feel that our temple is not actually profaned; but its due honour neglected, and thus the work of profanation in some sort begun.

Now when I speak of the complete profanation of our temple, or in other words of the complete perversion and corruption of a Christian school, it will be fit only to consider such a corruption as is clearly within the limits of possibility. There is a degree of badness which it is useless to notice, because no school could ever arrive at it; before it became so utterly evil, it would be broken up

altogether and cease to be a school. What we are concerned with is such a state of things as might possibly exist in a school for a considerable time, so that the school might go on receiving boys and doing them great harm, which in the very worst conceivable state it would not do. Thus, for instance, there are degrees of profligacy which if they ever existed at all, yet could not continue long, because they would so shock public opinion, that no boys would long be sent to a place so infamous. For practical purposes, a school is then most thoroughly corrupted, when with a great deal of vice of all sorts existing in it, there is nothing of a decided spirit of good ;—so that those who are not led away into vice, have yet no example or influence before them to lead them to good or to uphold them in it, and become if not vicious in the common sense of the term, yet altogether unprincipled and unchristian.

The actual evil which may exist in a school consists, I suppose, first of all in direct sensual wickedness, such as drunkenness and other things forbidden together with drunkenness in the scriptures. It would consist, secondly, in the systematic practice of falsehood, —when lies were told constantly by the great majority, and tolerated by all. Thirdly, it would consist in systematic cruelty, or if cruelty be too strong a word, in the systematic annoyance of the weak and simple, so that a boy's life would be miserable unless he learnt some portion of the coarseness and spirit of persecution which he saw all around him. Fourthly, it would consist in a spirit of active disobedience,—when all authority was hated, and there was a general pleasure in breaking rules simply because they were rules. Fifthly, it would include a general idleness, when every one did as little as he possibly could, and the whole tone of the school went to cry down any attempt on the part of any one boy or more, to show anything like diligence or a wish to improve himself. Sixthly, there would be a prevailing spirit of combination in evil and of companionship ; by which a boy would regard himself as more bound to his companions in ties of wickedness, than to God or his neighbour in any ties of good ;—so that he would labour to conceal from his parents and from all who might check it, the evil state of things around him ; considering it far better that evil should exist, than that his companions doing evil should be punished. And this accomplice spirit, this brotherhood of wickedness, is just the opposite of Christian love or charity ; for as St Paul calls

charity the bond of perfectness, so this clinging of the evil to one another is the bond of wickedness; it is that without which wickedness would presently fall to pieces and perish, and which preserves it in existence and in vigour.

Let these six things exist together, and the profanation of the temple is complete,—it is become a den of thieves. Then whoever passes through such a school may undoubtedly, by God's grace, be afterwards a good man, but so far as his school years have any effect on his after life, he must be utterly ruined. An extraordinary strength of constitution, or rather a miracle of God's grace, may possibly have enabled him to breathe an air so pestilential with impunity; but although he may have escaped, thousands have perished, and the air in its own properties is merely deadly. And yet still it is conceivable that a school may exist for some years in such a state, under peculiar external circumstances. In the end, no doubt, it must either improve or be dissolved, yet it might live long enough to ruin many generations of boys submitted to its influence.

Here then is the full grown and perfected evil, the utter profanation of the temple. I said at first, and you will not I am sure doubt it, that I was going to give no representation of our actual state; our worst enemy could not say that this picture was a likeness of what we are. Nevertheless, it concerns us to look at all the six points which I have noted; to see whether some of them do not exist among us in some degree; for it is most clear that, so far as they do exist, in however small proportions, the profanation of our temple is so far begun.

The first point which I spoke of was actual profligacy. I cannot dwell upon this, and I truly believe that I need not. Nevertheless, it may be well to consider whether there is not a distinction often taken between drinking and drunkenness, which is partly false in itself, and is productive of great mischief. It is partly false in itself, for although it is true that drinking within the bounds of sobriety escapes the sin of drunkenness, and therefore is so far innocent, yet it is no less true that drinking here, whether it be to excess or not, cannot but incur the sin of disobedience, and therefore is so far not innocent but sinful. And the distinction is productive of great mischief; for where many drink, it is quite certain that some will be drunken; it is certain also that many will acquire tastes and

habits which lead, if not to actual drunkenness, yet to low and bad society, to idleness and to dissipation[1].

The second point which I spoke of was falsehood. I described the full grown evil as a system where lies were told by the majority, and tolerated by all. God forbid that this should be our case; but there is a state of things where lies are told by a few and tolerated by a great many; and if this were laid to our charge, I do not know that I could altogether venture to deny it. I hold it to be the vainest of all vain things to go about to establish by argument the wickedness of a lie. The sense of that wickedness is one of the most elementary feelings of the human mind; if it wants to be persuaded of its reasonableness, it is already corrupted. If a man were to ask for proof that one and one made two, we should scarcely, I think, attempt to give it him; we should rather say that his very asking for proof showed that he was either mad or an idiot. And so it is with the requiring proof of the wickedness of falsehood. In fact, no one does require proof of this: what many want is rather a sense of the great evil of wickedness in itself; they do not say, "it is not wrong to lie,"—but they say, "there is no great harm in it if it does not injure others." The mischief is in the expression "no great harm"; in saying that there is no great harm in any sin; in thinking that sin against God is little in itself, except it happen to involve harm to others. But I do not find that the lie of Ananias and Sapphira was meant to do, or could possibly do any harm to others; his lie was simply told to do himself good,—to make Peter and the church in general think better of him than he deserved;—her lie was one of those which are often regarded with most favour, for her principal object no doubt was to screen her husband from detection; the lie in the first instance was for his credit rather than hers; he had told it, and she supported it to screen him. And, doubtless, if any human relations were near and dear enough to be preferred before our duty to God, the wife might be excused in lying for her husband. But what said Peter, or rather what said the Holy Spirit Himself present in Peter, and confirming His presence by the immediate display of His power? "How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?

[1] For the condition of things in Arnold's day compare Tom Brown's School Days.—*Ed.*

Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out."

The third point which I noticed was cruelty, or, more properly speaking, what is called in schools by a name of its own, "bullying." Here, too, I am sure that the picture does not suit our actual state; this evil is one which I am happy to believe is neither general amongst us, nor, where it does exist, does it, as I trust and think, exist in any very bad degree. Yet it does exist undoubtedly, producing, as it ever must, much suffering, and even more evil to the mind of him who is guilty of it. Nothing more surely butalizes any one, than the allowing himself to find pleasure in the pain or annoyances of others. It degrades and brutalizes too those who stand by and laugh at annoyance so inflicted, instead of regarding it with indignation and disgust.

Fourthly, I spoke of active disobedience; of the pleasure of breaking rules because they were rules; of disliking a thing, in fact, because we like it, or liking it because we dislike it. And here the existence of such a feeling in the heart can only be known by Him who sees the heart. But I can truly say, that regarding the school generally, I have no suspicion whatever, I have had no reason ever to suspect, that such a feeling exists amongst you. I do truly believe that from this evil, and a very mischievous evil it is, we are altogether free. I have no apprehension that you regard us as your natural enemies, whose pleasure it is to restrain and annoy you, so that you in your turn should make it your pleasure to disobey and annoy us. Yet such a state of feeling is conceivable in a school, and therefore I thought it right to mention it as one of the evils by which schools might possibly be corrupted.

Fifthly, I spoke of general idleness; of a decided wish prevailing amongst the majority to put down all exertion and all proficiency. I need not say that I do not believe this to be the case here. Nevertheless, we cannot pretend to be wholly free from this evil; it would not be true to say that a diligent boy, desirous of improving himself, never met with any discouragement and even with annoyance. Nay, I must confess, that I have heard before now of instances of this evil which have utterly surprised me, which my own school experience had in no way prepared me to expect. I have heard,—the cases I hope are not common,—but I have heard that boys have been actually ill used by other boys for getting

above them, nay, even for showing a knowledge greater than that of most around them. I could not readily believe that a spirit so utterly paltry and vile would have dared to show itself at a public school, where mean faults at any rate are mostly discouraged. And truly a meaner or a baser spirit than is betrayed by persecuting or annoying another because he does anything better than ourselves, or because we wish ourselves to do it ill, and therefore would have no one do it well, is not easily to be met with.

I am come now to the sixth fault, the spirit of combination and companionship[1]. And it were vain to deny that this also exists in some degree amongst us. But this spirit shows itself in so many ways, and is so widely prevalent for evil, not here only but amongst all mankind, that I would not willingly notice it so briefly as my time and limits would require if I were to enter on the subject now. I will rather reserve the consideration of this sixth evil, this bond of wickedness, for yet another occasion, when I may hope to complete the whole matter of the text.

RUGBY CHAPEL,
August 30, 1840.

SERMON K. (No. VII. IN VOL. V.)

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

ST LUKE, xix. 45, 46, 47.

And He went into the Temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought; saying unto them, It is written, My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves. And He taught daily in the Temple.

I STOPPED last Sunday after having noticed five out of the six evils by which I supposed that great schools were likely to be corrupted, and changed from the likeness of God's temple to that of a den of thieves. The sixth evil I left for separate consideration, because it appeared to require a fuller notice. And its very name, if we attend, will make it probable that it does so. I called it

[1] Comp. Sermon XV in Vol. III. on Proselytism.

the spirit of combination and companionship, whereas the other evils of which I spoke were such things as idleness, falsehood, drunkenness, disobedience; names very different in their character from combination and companionship. They are very different, in this, that when we speak of idleness or falsehood we mean things altogether evil, which are plainly and altogether to be avoided and abhorred; but when we speak of combination or companionship, we name things not in their own nature evil, things which have a good sense as well as a bad sense; things, therefore, not plainly and altogether, but only upon consideration and beyond a certain point to be avoided and condemned. Here, therefore, the subject must be gone into more carefully; we must not blame indiscriminately, but opening gently, as it were, what lies in a tangled mass before us, we must so learn, if we can, to separate the evil from the good.

And if in this enquiry I go a little deeper than can be clear or interesting to all of my hearers, yet it will be well I think to do so for the sake of those among you who can certainly understand what I am going to say, and I hope will also be interested in it; for speaking to a congregation consisting of persons of such different ages, it would not be right to adapt what is said always, and in all respects to the condition of the youngest and least thinking. What I have called the spirit of companionship, is that feeling by which we are drawn towards our equals, while we are conscious that they and we stand in a certain relation to a common superior. I mean that the feeling of companionship, as I am now taking it, implies that, besides the persons so feeling it, and who are always more or less on an equality with each other, there exists also some superior party, and that his superiority modifies the mutual feeling of the parties on an equality. Thus the feeling of companionship amongst brothers and sisters, supposes that they have all parents also, to whom they stand in another relation, and not in that of companionship; the same feeling amongst the poor supposes that they have also something to do with the rich, the same feeling amongst subjects supposes that they have a government, and if it could exist amongst all mankind towards each other as men, then it would imply the existence of God, and that He interfered in the affairs of mankind. The first element then in this sense of companionship is sympathy, a feeling that we are

alike as in many other things, so also in our relation to some other party; that our hopes and fears with respect to this party are in each of us the same. And thus far the feeling is natural and quite blameless, sympathy being a very just cause why we should be drawn together. But then this sympathy is accompanied very often with a total want of sympathy so far as regards our common superior; as we who are each other's companions have with respect to him the same hopes and fears, so we often think that he and we have not the same hopes and fears, or in other words the same interest, in any degree at all: but that his interest is one thing, and ours is the very contrary.

So that while there is a sympathy between us and our companions, there is also between us and our superior the very contrary to sympathy, we conceive ourselves placed towards him in actual opposition.

But if he too could be taken into our bond of sympathy, if we could feel that his interests and ours are also the same, no less than ours and our companions', then the feeling of companionship, if I may so speak, being extended to all our relations, would produce no harm at all, but merely good: it would then, in fact, be no other than the perfection of our nature,—perfect love.

That this general sympathy does not exist, that men do feel sympathy with their equals, and not with their superiors, or in a much less degree, has been occasioned like all our evil since the fall, partly by our own fault, and partly by that of others. Partly by our own fault, inasmuch as we have been and are very slow to perceive the higher sympathies for which our nature has been formed, and rest contentedly in the lower; partly through the fault of others, inasmuch as superiors have often shown that they regarded their own interest as different from that of those below them, and therefore have themselves as it were forbidden the possibility of sympathy. Thus in the case of slavery, when masters held the language that their slaves were made for them, and that the relation between master and slave was adapted only to promote the good of the former,—what was this but saying to the slave that he could not by possibility sympathize with his master? What was it but straitening the bonds of companionship, in the worst sense of the word, between him and his fellow slaves?

For now suppose that one slave takes his master's property,

or attempts to run away from him, how can the feelings of all the other slaves help going along with him, and against their master? How can they help rejoicing in their companion's escape, and grieving at his detection? How can they help farther being disposed themselves to aid the one and to prevent the other? For their master has repelled their sympathy with him;—he has told them that his good is not their good, but that on the contrary his good exists in their suffering. How can they respect or wish to maintain such a relation; how can they but be anxious to break it?

This is natural, and so far as the master is concerned it is perfectly just. But slaves, like all other men, have another master, and that master is God. And with this heavenly Master we are properly, and except by our own fault, in perfect sympathy; our highest good is His pleasure, our evil is what He willeth not. Now where men's eyes have been opened to this highest relation of all, and have found it one of sympathy, then it comes in to soften and purify even those other relations which in themselves were wholly without sympathy; the master was taken in within the range of his slave's regard, and the slave within the range of his master's; the master saw in his slave one who was like himself Christ's freeman; the slave saw in his master one who was like himself Christ's servant: and a sympathy thus established between them, the relation became in many cases one no longer of antipathy, but of mutual kindness and regard.

I have taken the instance of master and slave, because above all other relations of human life, it most justifies the feeling of companionship, inasmuch as the superior has put himself most entirely out of sympathy with those below him, and has most separated his good from theirs.

Yet even in this unhappy relation, the sense of sympathy in our highest relation, that with God, has, as we have seen, abated in a great degree its evil. What, then, should it do in other relations, where there is a natural sympathy between the superior and inferior, and the sympathy if destroyed through the fault of either, is capable in its own nature of being easily restored?

Now then we may speak directly of our relation here, and of companionship amongst you. The causes of your sympathy with one another are plain. Not to speak of sameness of age, you are placed here in the same circumstances and in the same relation

to us. There is much therefore to draw you to each other, and the feeling of attachment to the body to which they belong, far from being blamable in the members of a school, is on the contrary quite natural and quite proper.

But, meanwhile, what is the relation between us and you? Is it like that of master and slave, or is it, as all good earthly relations, an image, however imperfect, of the relation between us all and Christ? In itself it is clearly the latter, inasmuch as boys are sent to school by those who love them dearest, not certainly for the purpose of doing good to the master, but to do good to them. No parent would send his son to be a slave, every parent would send him to school. Thus the difference between our relation here, and that of master and slave, is in itself enormous.

Yet it is true that the feelings of each have been sometimes very similar! And how has this happened? It has happened through the great fault either of masters or boys, or of both. In one from indolence, or passion or imperiousness, or mercenariness; —when a man not caring about the real good of those committed to his charge, but only that their parents should think that they had received good, went about effecting his object by those methods which cost him least trouble, or which most gratified his temper. In the other, from the common lowness of human nature, which regards the indulgence of our lowest appetites to be kindness, and their restraint unkindness and injustice, so that it being a master's bounden duty in many instances to restrain these lower appetites, those to whom such appetites are all in all, think that he is continually acting against their interest, that his good is their evil; that is, that he is like a master over slaves, and that with him therefore they have no sympathy.

If then the want of sympathy between us is manifestly either our fault or yours, or that of both; if supposing us to be what we should be, and you to be what you should be, our sympathy would be complete; for indeed I know not what could be by possibility a greater good to us, a good infinite and eternal, a crown of glory such as were above all thought and hope, than that you should all attain to your highest good and be all infinitely and eternally happy; then the feeling of companionship in the bad sense among you, is an unjust and narrow feeling; it is the feeling of one sympathy only, and the being dead to others; it is the feeling

of sympathy with one another, which is quite right and good, but it is the absence of sympathy with us, with whom you ought to feel it also, and with your parents, and above all, with Christ and with God. For when you would fain screen any fault done among you, or would have any evil not put down, one sympathy alone exists among you, and that the very lowest of all. You are alive only to each other's lowest pleasures, are interested for them, and wish to encourage them; but you are dead to each other's highest pleasures, that is, to each other's real good; you are dead to the feeling of sympathy with us, you feel not as we feel, nor as your parents feel, nor as Christ feels. You love not each other strictly speaking, but each other's evil; and you do not love any one else whom you are bound to love, and least of all, God.

This then is the evil of what I call companionship, that it is by much too narrow. I do not say cease to feel it, for it is good and natural in itself; but I say enlarge it, extend it, carry it on to its full extent; and then what by itself would tend to make us a den of thieves, when enlarged into its full proportions, makes us truly a house of prayer, God's living temple. Let companionship expand into communion. You are companions of one another, with many natural sympathies of age, of employment, of place, and of constitution of body and mind. But you are companions of us too, companions in our common work, which is your good, earthly and eternal; you are companions of all God's saints who are engaged in the same warfare; you are companions—high and most presumptuous as the word were in itself, yet God's infinite love has sanctioned it—you are companions of Him who is not shamed to call us brethren, who bore and bears our nature, who died as we shall all die. Bear all these relationships in mind, and then, as I said, companionship is become communion, the bond of wickedness is become the bond of perfectness, we are one with each other, and with Christ, and with God. But that companionship, which now you feel so exclusively, would not become extinct even then; it would be the corruptible indeed become the incorruptible, but still it would exist in its proper essence, the same in a manner although changed. God approves of your being drawn to one another; He knows that many a lesson which might come in vain from older lips, is heeded when coming from the lips of a familiar friend; He knows that the mind's and soul's growth never expands

so healthfully as in the society of equals; that no example of good is half so striking as that given by one whose temptations and whose strength are altogether the same as our own. God's blessing is on friendship, and the perfection of friendship exists most readily between those of equal years and similar circumstances. Earnestly do I desire to see such friendships grow up and multiply amongst you; most anxious am I that you should derive from each other a greater good than we could possibly communicate to you. I should be most thankful if any one of you, serving Christ faithfully hereafter, were to look back on his life here, and feel that the good which he had derived from us, was as nothing to that which he had acquired from the friends whom he had found amongst his schoolfellows. This would be our greatest rejoicing and glory, that others amongst your own body should have helped you on the way to eternal life, far more than we had done. Overcome us in this Christian contest, and there can be nothing so happy for yourselves,—nothing so happy for us.

RUGBY CHAPEL,
Sept. 6, 1840.

SERMON L. (No. VIII. IN VOL. V.)

EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION[1].

ST MATTHEW, xv. 16.

Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding?

THIS was said by our Lord to His own disciples when He found that His words, which had not been understood by the rest of His hearers, had not been understood by them any more than by others. That others should be ignorant was not so much to be wondered at, but that Christ's own followers should be so, was sad and strange. Yet to how many thousands of Christ's disciples, of baptized Christians, in this country, might Christ's words be repeated, and unhappily with no expression of surprise. We should not say, wondering, to the great multitude of our brethren, "Are ye also yet without understanding?" but rather we should say to the few, "Have ye then been so fortunate as to gain it?"

[1] Preached in a parish church in Westmoreland.

This state of general ignorance has existed so long that it excites no surprise; in some, perhaps, it has even excited no concern. We take it as a very natural thing that many should be ignorant, as a thing indeed which can by no possibility be prevented. Some, it is true, speak a very different language, and say, "that education may be made universal, and that it is the only means of putting down crime and misery; that an educated people will be a good and happy people; therefore let us build our schools and train our schoolmasters, to set forward this blessed work of education." Let us, indeed, by all means build our schools and train our schoolmasters; for it is a blessed work to do so; I know of few works that are more blessed. But let us see what we are doing by this, and what we may hope to do; for if we expect more fruit than the tree can possibly bear, we may be disappointed without any reason, and say, "The pains that we have bestowed on this tree are wasted,—we will bestow them on it no more."

Now to begin with the first step of all: it is perfectly possible to give to all our people the knowledge of reading and writing. This depends merely on the funds which can be raised; if we subscribe largely, there is no doubt that this much can certainly be done. These are things which every child can learn and will learn, if there be any one to teach him. And let us consider what really great things these are. Those of us who can read and write have only to think what would induce them to give up their power of doing so, were such a thing possible. We can scarcely fancy ourselves without the power of reading, any more than without the power of walking. If we were without it, we should be in a manner different beings. For to be unable to read is to be cut off from all intercourse with all those who are now, or who ever have been in the world, except the very few who can be personally present with us, and speak to us with their voices. It were indeed but a little world that we lived in, if our communion with it was limited to those who at each successive hour might happen to be in our company. A friend leaves us for a few weeks, and we cannot hear him speak to us, but by reading we can have him talking to us though absent. Again, are all the things in the world worth hearing and knowing, known by those few persons whom we may happen to meet with? Do we care actually about nothing but what our neighbours, in our common intercourse with them, can

tell us? I have not said a word of the highest uses to which reading can be turned, in the gaining a knowledge of things eternal. But even as a power for things merely human, it is so great and so precious, that we who have it would as soon part with our right hands as be without it. That is the best measure of its value; and this precious gift our money can certainly purchase for every one of our countrymen; every child above an idiot can be taught to write and to read.

I confess that as schools can certainly do thus much, if they did nothing more I should think it a blessed work to multiply them. To give our brethren so great a power, the daily source of so much pleasure, a pleasure which we cannot conceive ourselves to be without, and which nothing would tempt us to forego, does seem to be in itself a very obvious work of Christian charity. I should think that if schools did this only, they would come in the very next class of usefulness, at any rate, to hospitals, asylums for the blind, or for the deaf and dumb, or to any other charitable institutions whose objects are the most simple and the most necessary.

But we are speaking to-day of schools which profess to do much more than teach reading and writing; of schools which profess to give a religious education. Now consider what a religious education in the true sense of the word is:—it is no other than a training our children to life eternal; no other than the making them know and love God, know and abhor evil; no other than the fashioning all the parts of our nature for the very ends which God designed for them; the teaching our understandings to know the highest truth, the teaching our affections to love the highest good.

Now can our schools and schoolmasters do this, as surely as they can teach children to read and write? Can they educate as certainly as they can instruct? If they can, then surely they must be the very greatest blessing in the whole world,—their value must be above all counting; to withhold them from any of our brethren is to withhold from him life eternal; to give them, is not only to open the door of the kingdom of heaven, but actually to lead men into it.

But what God's word itself cannot do surely, cannot be done by any subordinate institution in the Church. Christ appointed His Church to be for the edifying, that is, the improving or causing the growth of the body of Christ, "till we all come in the unity of

the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Has the Church ever, from the beginning, answered fully this glorious end to all its members; has it answered it surely and of necessity? We all but too well know and feel the answer. So neither can schools and schoolmasters surely give religious education to our children, as they can surely teach them to write and read.

And therefore he who thinks that to provide schools is to provide education, or that to provide schools where the Bible and Catechism are taught is to provide religious education, will undoubtedly be disappointed when he sees the fruit of his work. Be sure that the saving men's souls is no such easy matter; our great enemy is not so easily vanquished. It is not the subscription of some pounds or hundreds of pounds, nor the building a schoolhouse, nor the appointing a schoolmaster, nor the filling the school with all the children in the parish, which will deliver all those children's souls from death, and mortify in them all the lusts of their evil nature, and foster and perfect all the works of the Spirit of God. Schools cannot as a matter of certainty do this, but let us see what they can do.

They can give elementary religious instruction. As every child can be taught to read and write, so every child can be taught to say his catechism, can be taught to know the main truths of the gospel, can be taught to say hymns. There is no doubt, I suppose, that schools can certainly compass as much as this, and this is, I think, by no means to be despised. For although we know but too well that the learning this, and much more than this, is very far from saving our souls certainly or generally, yet it is no less true that without this we are much worse off, and with this much better off. It is at least giving a man a map of the road which he is going, which will keep him in the right way if he uses it. The map will not make his limbs stronger, nor his spirits firmer; he may be tired or he may be indolent, and it is of no use to him then. But suppose a man furnished with a very perfect map of a strange country, and that on his day's journey he has wasted many hours by going off his road, or by stopping to eat and to revel, and by and by the evening is coming on, and he knows not where he is, and he would fain make up for his former carelessness, and get to his journey's end before night comes on. The map,

which hitherto has been carried uselessly, becomes then his guide and his best friend. So it has been known to be often with religious instruction. Neglected, like the map, while the morning was fair, and we cared not about our onward journey; when life has darkened, and troubles have come, and a man has indeed wanted light and comfort, then the instruction of his school has been known to flash upon his mind, and more especially what he has learnt in psalms and hymns, which naturally cleave the easiest to the memory. When he would turn, he has known where to turn. This has very often happened as the fruit of early religious instruction, when that instruction has been in no way accompanied with education. And therefore as all our church schools can undoubtedly give to all the elements of religious instruction, as well as teach all to write and read, they deserve, I think, our most earnest support; and it is our part to help according to our best ability in providing every portion of the kingdom, and every one of our countrymen, with the means of certainly obtaining so much of good.

I have said that schools can certainly give religious instruction, but that it is not certain that they will give religious education. I dwell on this distinction for two several reasons: first, because it concerns us all in our own private relations, to be aware of the enormous difference between the two; secondly, because, confounding them together, we either expect schools to educate, which very likely they will not be able to do, and then are unreasonably disappointed; or else, feeling sure that the greater good of education is not certainly to be looked for, we do not enough value the lesser good of instruction which can be given certainly, and thus do not encourage schools so much as we ought. Elementary instruction in religion, as in other things, may be certainly given to all who have their common natural faculties; that is, as I said, the catechism and hymns may be made to be learnt by heart, and the great truths of Christ's Gospel may be taught so as to be known and remembered. But even instruction, when we go beyond the elements of learning, cannot be given to all certainly; we cannot undertake to make every boy, even if we have the whole term of his boyhood and youth given us for the experiment, either a good divine, or a good scholar, or to be a master of any other kind of knowledge. This cannot be done, although, as far as instruction

is concerned, schools have great means at their command, nor do other things out of school very much interfere with their efficacy. But to give a man a Christian education, is to make him love God as well as know Him, to make him have faith in Christ, as well as to have been taught the facts that He died for our sins and rose again; to make him open his heart eagerly to every impulse of the Holy Spirit, as well as to have been taught the fact as it is in the Nicene Creed, that He is the Lord and giver of spiritual life. And will mere lessons do all this,—when the course of life and all examples around both at home and at school, with a far more mighty teaching, and one to which our natural dispositions far more readily answer, enforce the contrary? And therefore the great work of Christian education is not the direct and certain fruit of building schools and engaging schoolmasters, but something far beyond, to be compassed only by the joint efforts of all the whole church and nation,—by the schoolmaster and the parent, by the schoolfellow at school, and by the brothers and sisters at home, by the clergyman in his calling, by the landlord in his calling, by the farmer and the tradesman, by the labourer and the professional man, and the man of independent income, whether large or small in theirs, by the Queen and her ministers, by the great council of the nation in Parliament;—by each and all of these labouring to remove temptations to evil, to make good easier and more honoured, to confirm faith and holiness in others by their own example; in a word, to make men love and glorify their God and Saviour when they see the blessed fruits of His kingdom even here on earth. And to bring this to ourselves more closely as private persons, let us remember that if we send our children to school, although we give up their instruction to the schoolmaster, yet we cannot give up their education. Their education goes on out of school as well as in school, and very often far more vigorously. We shall see this, if we remember again that the great work of education is to make us love what is good, and therefore not only know it, but do it. And thus we are being educated in a manner always; that is, the people about us and the circumstances about us are constantly producing an effect upon us; they strengthen good in us, or they weaken it; they excite us to love or to dislike something, and according as that thing so loved or so disliked is good or evil, so is our education advanced or hindered. Thus,

a parent's example of covetousness, or love of pleasure, or of passionate temper, or of any other fault, is very far more powerful than the schoolmaster's instructions; he uneducates much more than the schoolmaster educates. And thus while we subscribe for schools, we do in fact destroy our own work so far as by any evil or folly of our own we set an evil example instead of a good; encouraging places of religious instruction on the one hand, hindering religious education on the other.

But then will nothing less than such a general co-operation of all classes ensure the great work of Christian education; and can we look to schools in themselves as to nothing more than to places of Christian instruction, and not of education? It is most true that without such co-operation, schools, however good in themselves, can never become generally, far less universally, the effective means of Christian education. But let us observe again, that the great good of Christian instruction they will give to all; and we may add, that the far higher blessing of Christian education they will give to many. They will give it to many, and the number will be increased according as the schools become in themselves better and better. A school does its best to educate as well as to instruct, when not only does the teacher's example agree with his teaching, but when he does his endeavour to make the example and influence of the boys themselves—a far greater matter than his own—agree with it also. If he can succeed in this, his school will be to many a place of real Christian education; it will have taught them to know Christ, and helped them to love and obey Him. And though, whilst other influences remain as they are, the example and influence of boys on each other will always be of a mixed character, partly bad as well as partly good; and although therefore a great many will go from school instructed in some degree, but not educated; yet if we multiply schools, and every one sends forth only a few who have really received the blessing of a Christian education, the few so educated by each will be a great many educated by all; and will be by God's blessing a leaven working in the mass of the meal, till, I dare not say the whole of it, but a larger and still a larger part be leavened.

RYDAL CHAPEL,
January 24, 1841.

SERMON M. (No. XXXIV. in Vol. V.)

THE FAREWELL WARNING[1].

2 Corinthians, iv. 3.

If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost.

So St Paul wrote before he had passed the middle of his apostolical course; before that time when he had to regret a more general defection of the church, a fuller proof that the word which he had preached was to many spoken in vain. But he saw already, nay, he must have seen from the beginning, that to some his gospel was hidden; that Christ whom he declared to be to those who believed the power of God and the wisdom of God, was to some neither power nor wisdom; they heard and were neither enlightened nor saved. What St Paul saw from the beginning of the gospel, has been seen ever since; still the truth is set before men and they reject it; or, stranger still, they say that they receive it, while in fact they are all the while rejecting it. This is a pain which all ministers of Christ must feel, but yet it cannot be doubted that, in proportion to the closeness of the relation between the several members of any particular church or congregation, this pain becomes greater. In a large parish, where a man scarcely knows all his parishioners by sight; where his intercourse even with those whom he knows best, is confined to occasional visits; so many influences are at work on their minds over which he can have no control, that if the truths which he sets before them are less powerful than the workings of evil, he may grieve, but he can scarcely wonder, and he can hardly think that any greater exertion of his could have made the result different. But here I need not tell you how we are situated with regard to each other; so that when we feel but too sure in any case, that the gospel is hidden, what we feel is not only a more personal grief, but also something, I do not say of wonder, for experience may have made wonder impossible, but of earnest questioning with ourselves, mixed with shame. I have never wished to speak with exaggeration; it seems to me as unwise as it is wrong to do so. I think that what holds true of each of us as individuals, holds true of us also as a body, namely,

[1] Arnold's last Sermon: see Stanley's Life, chap. X.

that it is quite right to observe what is hopeful in ourselves, as well as what is threatening; that general confessions of unmixed evil are deceiving and hardening rather than arousing; that our evil never looks really so dark as when we contrast it with anything which there may be in us of good. I am very thankful for a great deal of good which I see or fully believe to exist among us; I have no reason to think that it is become less in any way, in proportion to the evil amongst us, than it was in times past; I believe, on the contrary, that it is greater; speaking only, of course, of the time within my own experience. But still what is very startling is this; that not only do we find, still as formerly, painful cases of individual badness recurring from time to time, which we might less wonder at; but that there are still existing certain influences for evil in our society itself of the same sort as formerly; so that there is something amongst us not unfavourable to the growth of individual evil, but rather in some degree encouraging to it. It is this which you can understand to be very painful. If out of the greatest number of persons who come to us every year there were a certain proportion bad, it would be no more than what we might ascribe to the common condition of human nature; and the evil which was brought here would be one for which we could not be responsible. But we cannot flatter ourselves that this is so: we cannot pretend that our evil is all of it brought to us from without, that our fault is no more than that we have failed to correct it. Some undoubtedly grows and is fostered here, and it happens sometimes that they who came without it have here contracted it. And this continuing, I do not at all say increasing, but still continuing to exist among us cannot but fill the mind with many painful thoughts, with anxieties, with doubts, and with difficulties, such as it were of little use to dwell upon any further now.

Thus much, however, of the point which especially causes anxiety, I may and ought perhaps to notice. It is that our good seems to want a principle of stability; to depend so much upon individuals. When everything in past years has been most promising, I have seen a great change suddenly produced after a single vacation; and what we might have hoped had been the real improvement of the school, was proved to have been no more than the present effect produced by a number of individuals. And thus, whenever things have been going on fairly amongst us, I have a

natural dread of the change which may follow the end of a half year, and which may show, as before, that the influences of the place in itself are not such as we could wish them to be. And if these alternations are for ever to continue, one asks what good can be ascribed to the system itself; for there seems to be no sure improvement in it, but that it is at the best a passive thing, presenting a good aspect when the individuals who belong to it happen to be good, but being in itself without any power to make them good or to keep them so.

What we are most tempted to do in this case is, on every occasion like the present, to put this strongly before you; to conjure those who will be coming forward to fill the places left vacant by others, that they consider how much is thus made to depend on them. But then we feel, as the Apostle felt, that there are some to whom Christ's gospel is hidden; we know but too well how small is the virtue of mere words; that it is easy to call, but not so easy to make the call effectual. We know that the same word of God set before different minds in the very same manner, is powerful with some, utterly powerless upon others. So that again we seem as it were paralyzed; the danger is before us manifest; what would be the remedy is no less plain, but if we proceed to offer it, we know that from causes utterly beyond our power to deal with, some will accept it, some, and must we not say *many*, will refuse it.

What remains then, but that we should, all of us of every age who have any serious thoughts about this matter, any interest in the real welfare of the school, that we should commit it earnestly to God in our prayers, beseeching Him to do what man cannot, to "turn the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just," to grant that they to whom Christ's gospel is hidden, shall at any rate not be the majority.

But surely, while committing the event to Him wholly in whose hand are the hearts of us all, we yet should pray no less that He would dispose us to be His instruments; that He would give us a hearty zeal, and also a wisdom to guide our zeal, and a perseverance which will not let us be weary in well doing; that He would keep alive in our minds our Lord's words, that while offences must come, yet it is woe to him by whom they come; that so we who really seek to follow Christ, whether we be old or young, may be clear from the blood of all men, that whatever evil shall continue to

exist among us, it may not be through our fault, whether by neglect or by actual encouragement of it. Least of all should we forget, whether young or old, that our Lord, when purposing to commit to Peter a high charge in His church, told him that He had first prayed for himself that his own faith should not fail, and then He added, "being converted, strengthen thy brethren." And so let us all be sure, that the first and best way by which we can strengthen others, is to be converted ourselves; that every pains bestowed with God's help upon our own hearts and lives, is sure to tell upon those of others, most effectually to them, and by far most blessedly to us. We can have no hope, nay, there is something shocking in the very thought that we can do good to others while we are careless about ourselves. On the other hand, if we feel ourselves too humble or too weak to allow us ever to think that we can do good to others, yet in fact, our mere care of ourselves is doing it in the best way, and certainly with no offence against humility even in the youngest. I should seem to be speaking in mockery, if I called upon any of the very young to try to improve the school in any other manner. But surely I may call upon the very youngest here to improve himself; I may call upon him to pray to God to keep his own soul from evil, and to encourage him in everything that is good. And I can tell him that if he does this, let him be as young as he will, he will most certainly do good to more than himself only; he may be of service to the school more than the oldest of us, who were to say, and do not.

Some there are in every society to whom such words as I have been saying are altogether superfluous; God has blessed them with His grace so highly that they follow Him as by the very instinct of their natures. And others there are also for the most part, God grant that they be not many, to whom such words are certainly useless; the heart is like the hard road side, and not a single grain of the seed of life can enter it. But the great mass everywhere, and surely no less here, consists of neither of these two classes; but of persons so balanced as it were between good and evil as to the future, so mixed up of good and evil elements now, that the very doubtfulness of the issue makes their case full of interest; and no eye of man can dare to prophesy what may be the decision at last. How many of this sort do I see before me, with regard to whom hope and fear are all but equal. What may be the effect

produced upon those by the approaching vacation? Will they return equally undecided as they are now; to be determined by such influences as shall happen to prevail amongst us when we meet again; or will the turn be taken before, and will they return positive elements of good or of evil? Surely your prayers for yourselves were never more needed, that the turn may be taken without delay, and that it may be taken for good.

I have kept to general language, and I think it is generally best to do so. I have little faith in the efficacy of particular warnings against such and such particular faults. Such warnings would indeed be very useful if the faults were things which you did not know to be wrong; then of course it is right and indeed necessary that our language should be particular; our preaching in that case might and ought to resemble actual teaching. But such faults as I should be most inclined to name, you all know to be faults already; however lightly you may practise, or regard in others the practice of any particular evil, you do not really act or feel thus from ignorance that God judges differently. There is scarcely a bad practice or a notion tolerated among you, even of those which you maintain most vigorously, of which you are not perfectly aware that they are not according to the mind of Christ; and therefore I am not either anxious to urge that such and such things are sins, which you know of yourselves, or to urge you to turn away from them as such, which would be pressing upon you a motive to which you might not yet be alive; but I would far rather call upon you to come to Christ with all your hearts, to learn what it is to pray to Him, to trust to Him, to live in Him, to take the great step in life of deciding between life and death, between Christ and Satan; in one word, to embrace the Gospel. Then there would be little need to speak to you of particular sins; those which were most in your way, would be to yourselves at once the principal objects of your anxiety; you would know that there lay your struggle. To realize your baptism, or your confirmation which represented your baptism consciously to each of you, that is, I think, to all of us, the one thing needful. It is a true word in every sense, that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin; to come to Him is life, to go on without Him is death. I know that the form of evil may vary with circumstances, it may be at one time drunkenness, at another time extravagance, at another time sin of another kind, nor do I

doubt that to your worldly prospects, and to the worldly prosperity and reputation of this school, some sins may be more dangerous than others. But to your own souls, and to the real influence of this place for good or for evil, these differences are but trifling; it matters but little by what particular path any individual soul makes its way to death eternal, when all tend thither alike. The real point which concerns us all is not whether our sin be of one kind or of another; more or less venial, or more or less mischievous in men's judgment, and to our worldly interests; but whether we struggle against all sin because it is sin; whether we have, or have not, placed ourselves consciously under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, trusting in Him, cleaving to Him, feeding on Him by faith daily; and so resolved, and continually renewing our resolution, to be His faithful servants and soldiers to our lives' end. To this I would call you all, so long as I am permitted to speak to you; to this I do call you all, and especially all who are likely to meet here again after a short interval; that you may return Christ's servants, with a believing and a loving heart; and if this be so, I care little as to what particular form temptations from without may take; there will be a security within, a security not of man, but of God.

June 5, 1842.

PART IV.

ESSAYS ON EDUCATIONAL TOPICS.

(From the Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold: London, 1845.)

EDUCATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES[1].

LETTER I.

April, 1832.

SIR,—Four months have elapsed since I last addressed you; and the course of events has certainly not slumbered during the interval. Would that I could see less cause for deep anxiety in the present state of affairs than there was four months ago; but it cannot be pretended that the most alarming symptoms have as yet suffered any abatement. Wickedness is no less active, and folly no less loud. I fear, too, we must add that honesty and wisdom are no less supine and silent.

We are all aware of the growing power of the middling classes of society, and we know that the Reform Bill will at once increase this power, and consolidate it. But power, like every other gift bestowed upon us by God's Providence, is not a mere gratuity, but a trust: it is given us to do good with it; and, therefore, it is far better both for ourselves and others that we should not possess it at all, than that we should not know how to use it.

There is one party in the country who wish the mass of the people to be shut out from political power, and who maintain, their

[1] Letters to *The Sheffield Courant*, 1831, 32.

belief agreeing with their wish, that the people will never be fit to exercise it. Another party triumphs in the prospect of the increased power of the mass of the community, without seeming to care whether it be fitted to discharge so important a trust or no. Now, Sir, I am earnestly desirous that the people should grow jointly in power and true knowledge; but at the same time I should regard their power as the worst of evils, if true knowledge were not to accompany it.

It seems to me, then, that the education of the middling classes at this time, is a question of the greatest national importance. I wish exceedingly to draw public attention to it; and at the same time, if I may be allowed to do so, to impress most strongly on those engaged in conducting it, the difficulty of their task, as well as its vast importance; how loudly it calls for their very best exertions, and how nobly those exertions, wisely directed, may hope to be rewarded. And on this, as on other subjects, feeling sincerely that my own information is limited, I should be very glad to be the means of inducing others to write upon it, who may be far better acquainted with its details than I am.

The schools for the richer classes are, as it is well known, almost universally conducted by the clergy; and the clergy, too, have the superintendence of the parochial schools for the poorer classes. But between these two extremes there is a great multitude of what are called English, or commercial schools, at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and of tradesmen receive their education. In some instances these are foundation schools, and the master is appointed by, and answerable to, the trustees of the charity; but more commonly they are private undertakings, entered upon by individuals as a means of providing for themselves and their families. There is now no restriction upon the exercise of the business of a schoolmaster, and no inquiry made as to his qualifications: the old provision which rendered it unlawful for any man to teach without obtaining a licence from the bishop of the diocese, has naturally and necessarily fallen into disuse; and as the government for the last century has thought it right to leave the moral and religious interests of the people pretty nearly to themselves, an impracticable restriction was suffered to become obsolete, but nothing was done to substitute in its place one that should be at once practicable and beneficial.

Now, in schools conducted by the clergy, the parents have this security, that the man to whom they commit their children has been at least regularly educated, and generally speaking, that he must be a man of decent life. And, if I mistake not, it is merely the prevalence of the feeling that this is so, which has in point of fact given to the clergy nearly the whole education of the richer classes. A man who was not in orders might open a school for the sons of rich parents, if he chose, but he would find it very difficult to get pupils. This state of things has been converted into an accusation against the clergy, by some pretended liberal writers; but it is evidently a most honourable tribute to that union of intellectual and moral qualifications, which, in spite of individual exceptions, still distinguishes the clergy as a body. A layman, who had obtained academical distinctions, would have the same testimony to his intellectual fitness, that a clergyman could boast of, but these distinctions prove nothing as to a man's moral character, whereas, it is felt, and felt justly, that the profession of a clergyman affords to a great extent an evidence of moral fitness also: not certainly as implying any high pitch of positive virtue, but ensuring at least, in common cases, the absence of gross vice; as affording a presumption in short that a man is disposed to be good, and that his faults will be rather those of deficient practice than of habitual carelessness of principle.

But the masters of our English or commercial schools labour under this double disadvantage, that not only their moral but their intellectual fitness must be taken upon trust. I do not mean that this is at all their fault; still less do I say, that they are not fit actually for the discharge of their important duties: but still it is a disadvantage to them that their fitness can only be known after trial,—they have no evidence of it to offer beforehand. They feel this inconvenience themselves, and their pupils feel it also; opportunities for making known their proficiency are wanting alike to both. It has long been the reproach of our law, that it has no efficient *secondary punishments:* it is no less true that we have no regular system of *secondary education.* The classical schools throughout the country have Universities to look to: distinction at school prepares the way for distinction at college; and distinction at college is again the road to distinction and emolument as a teacher: it is a passport with which a young man enters life with

advantage, either as a tutor or as a schoolmaster. But anything like local Universities,—any so much as local distinction or advancement in life held out to encourage exertion at a commercial school, it is as yet vain to look for. Thus the business of education is degraded: for a schoolmaster of a commercial school having no means of acquiring a general celebrity, is rendered dependent on the inhabitants of his own immediate neighbourhood;—if he offends them, he is ruined. This greatly interferes with the maintenance of discipline; the boys are well aware of their parents' power, and complain to them against the exercise of their master's authority;—nor is it always that the parents themselves can resist the temptation of showing their own importance, and giving the master to understand that he must be careful how he ventures to displease them.

It is manifest that this disadvantage cannot be overcome by the mere efforts of those on whom it presses: the remedy required must be on a larger scale. That the evil occasioned by it is considerable, I can assert with confidence. Submission and diligence are so naturally unwelcome to a boy, that they whose business it is to enforce them have need of a vantage ground to stand upon: they should command the respect of their scholars, not only by their personal qualities but by their position in society; they should be able to encourage diligence, by pointing out some distinct and desirable reward to which it may attain. For this the interference of Government seems to me indispensable, in order to create a national and systematic course of proceeding, instead of the mere feeble efforts of individuals; to provide for the middling classes something analogous to the advantages afforded to the richer classes by our great public schools and Universities. Meanwhile it may not be amiss to consider what is the course of education actually followed in the generality of commercial schools, and what are the improvements of which it is susceptible. If you, Sir, or your readers, agree with me in the importance of the subject, you will allow me, perhaps, to resume it in a future letter.

EDUCATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

LETTER II.

May 4, 1832.

SIR,—I propose in this letter to pursue the subject of commercial schools, and to state what is the course of study actually pursued in them. And I shall not be sorry to call the attention of your readers to certain general truths connected with education, which, though very obvious and very important, are yet very apt to be neglected.

I believe it often happens, that boys in the lowest form of a commercial school require absolutely to be taught to read. They have been neglected at home in their earliest years, till, when they come to eleven or twelve years of age, their friends find themselves obliged to send them to school; forgetting, however, that owing to their own neglect, what ought to be the work of seven or eight years has now to be completed as it can within three or four. But supposing a boy able to read and write, his education, properly so called, then commences. He receives instruction in arithmetic, history, and geography; in English Grammar, and in composition. The rudiments of physical science, carried on to a greater or less degree of advancement, are also taught him; and with a view to his particular business in life, he learns land surveying, if he is to be brought up to agricultural pursuits; or book-keeping, if he is intended for trade. His religious instruction varies probably more than anything else, according to the personal character of his instructor, the line of study here being much less clearly marked out, except to a man who is himself in earnest as to its importance. Sometimes the boys are required to analyse grammatically any sentence in an English book, and to give the derivations of the several words in it, just as boys at classical schools are called upon to do in Greek and Latin. And doubtless there may be many commercial schools, especially in the manufacturing districts, where the course of study far surpasses what is here given, and where the instruction on scientific subjects, in chemistry, and in mechanics, is carried to a high degree of proficiency.

But I confess that this is not the point upon which I feel much anxiety. I have little doubt that boys will be sufficiently taught all

that they require for their particular calling; and scientific knowledge is so generally valued, and confers a power so immediately felt, that I think its diffusion may safely be reckoned on. This, however, has nothing to do with the knowledge which the Reform Bill calls for. A man may be ever so good a chemist, or ever so good a mechanic, or ever so good an engineer, and yet not at all the fitter to enjoy the elective franchise. And if we call a people educated who possess only scientific or physical knowledge, we practically misapply the term; for though such knowledge be a very good education, as far as a man's trade or livelihood is concerned, yet, in a political sense, and as a qualification for the exercise of political power, it is no education at all. The distinction requires to be stated more fully.

Every man, from the highest to the lowest, has two businesses; the one his own particular profession or calling, be it what it will, whether that of soldier, seaman, farmer, lawyer, mechanic, labourer, &c.—the other his general calling, which he has in common with all his neighbours, namely, the calling of a citizen and a man. The education which fits him for the first of these two businesses, is called professional; that which fits him for the second, is called liberal. But because every man must do this second business, whether he does it well or ill, so people are accustomed to think that it is learnt more easily. A man who has learnt it indifferently seems, notwithstanding, to get through life with tolerable comfort; he may be thought not to be very wise or very agreeable, yet he manages to get married, and to bring up a family, and to mix in society with his friends and neighbours. Whereas, a man who has learnt his other business indifferently, I mean, his particular trade or calling, is in some danger of starving outright. People will not employ an indifferent workman when good ones are to be had in plenty; and therefore, if he has learnt his particular business badly, it is likely that he will not be able to practise it at all.

Thus it is that while ignorance of a man's special business is instantly detected, ignorance of his great business as a man and a citizen is scarcely noticed, because there are so many who share in it. Thus we see every one ready to give an opinion about politics, or about religion, or about morals, because it is said these are every man's business. And so they are, and if people would learn them as they do their own particular business, all would do well: but

never was the proverb more fulfilled which says that every man's business is no man's. It is worse indeed than if it were no man's; for now it is every man's business to meddle in, but no man's to learn. And this general ignorance does not make itself felt directly,—if it did, it were more likely to be remedied: but the process is long and round about; false notions are entertained and acted upon; prejudices and passions multiply; abuses become manifold; difficulty and distress at last press on the whole community; whilst the same ignorance which produced the mischief now helps to confirm it or to aggravate it, because it hinders them from seeing where the root of the whole evil lay, and sets them upon some vain attempt to correct the consequences, while they never think of curing, because they do not suspect the cause.

I believe it is generally the case, at least in the agricultural districts, that a boy is taken away from school at fourteen. He is taken away, less than half educated, because his friends want him to enter upon his business in life without any longer delay. That is, the interests of his great business as a man are sacrificed to the interests of his particular business as a farmer or a tradesman. And yet very likely the man who cares so little about political knowledge, is very earnest about political power, and thinks that it is most unjust if he has no share in the election of members of the legislature. I do not blame any one for taking his son from school at an early age when he is actually obliged to do so, but I fear that in too many instances there is no sense entertained of the value of education, beyond its fitting a boy for his own immediate business in life: and until this be altered for the better, I do not see that we are likely to grow much wiser, or that though political power may pass into different hands, that it will be exercised more purely or sensibly than it has been.

"But the newspapers—they are cheap and ready instructors in political knowledge, from whom all may, and all are willing to learn." A newspaper writer, addressing a newspaper editor, must not speak disrespectfully of that with which they are themselves concerned; but *we* know, Sir, and every honest man connected with a newspaper would confess also, that our instruction is often worse than useless to him who has never had any other. We suppose that our readers have some knowledge and some principles of their own; and adapt our language to them accordingly. I am afraid that we

in many cases suppose this untruly ; and the wicked amongst our fraternity make their profit out of their readers' ignorance, by telling them that they are wise. But instruction must be regular and systematic ; whereas a newspaper must give the facts of the day or the week,—and if it were to overload these with connected essays upon general principles, it would not be read. I fear that my own letters tax the patience of some of your readers to the utmost allowable length : and that many, perhaps those who might find them most useful, never think of reading them at all. And yet my letters, although the very least entertaining things that could be tolerated in a newspaper, cannot and do not pretend to give instructions to those who are wholly ignorant. All my hope is to set my readers thinking ; and my highest delight would be that any one should be induced by them to suspect his own ignorance, and to try to gain knowledge where it is to be gained. But assuredly he who does honestly want to gain knowledge, will not go to a newspaper to look for it.

No, Sir, real knowledge, like everything else of the highest value, is not to be obtained so easily. It must be worked for,—studied for,—thought for,—and more than all, it must be prayed for. And that is education, which lays the foundation of such habits,—and gives them, so far as a boy's early age will allow, their proper exercise. For doing this, the materials exist in the studies actually pursued in our commercial schools ; but it cannot be done effectually, if a boy's education is to be cut short at fourteen. His *schooling* indeed may be ended without mischief, if his parents are able to guide his *education* afterwards ; and the way to gain this hereafter, is to make the most of the schooling time of the rising generation,—that finding how much may be done even in their case, within the limited time allowed for their education, they may be anxious to give *their* children greater advantages, that the fruit may be proportionally greater.

It may be that this is impracticable, to which I have only to say that I will not believe it to be so till I am actually unable to hope otherwise ; for if it be impracticable, my expectations of good from any political changes are faint indeed. These changes might still be necessary, might still be just, but they would not mend our condition ; the growth of evil, moral and political, would be no less rapid than it is now.

RUGBY SCHOOL.—USE OF THE CLASSICS[1].

THIS school was originally a simple grammar school, designed for the benefit of the town of Rugby and its neighbourhood. Any person who has resided for the space of two years in the town of Rugby, or at any place in the county of Warwick within ten miles of it, or even in the adjacent counties of Leicester and Northampton to the distance of five miles from it, may send his sons to be educated at the school without paying anything whatever for their instruction. But if a parent lives out of the town of Rugby, his son must then lodge at one of the regular boarding-houses of the school; in which case the expenses of his board are the same as those incurred by a boy not on the foundation.

Boys placed at the school in this manner are called foundationers, and their number is not limited. In addition to these, there are 260 boys, not on the foundation; and this number is not allowed to be exceeded.

The number of masters is ten, consisting of a head-master and nine assistants. The boys are divided into nine, or practically into ten classes, succeeding each other in the following order, beginning from the lowest: first form, second form, third form, lower remove; fourth form, upper remove, lower fifth, fifth, and sixth. It should be observed, to account for the anomalies of this nomenclature, that the name of sixth form has been long associated with the idea of the highest class in all the great public schools of England; and, therefore, when more than six forms are wanted they are designated by other names, in order to secure the magic name of sixth to the highest form in the school. In this the practice of our schools is not without a very famous precedent: for the Roman augurs, we are told, would not allow Tarquinius Priscus to exceed the ancient and sacred number of three, in the centuries of Equites;

[1] This and the following article were contributed by Dr Arnold to the *Quarterly Journal of Education* in 1834, 1835.

The account of Rugby School, in the first part of this article, was written in compliance with a plan for a description of the different Public Schools by their several head-masters. In some respects the arrangement of the School, which is here given, underwent considerable modifications.

but there was no objection made to his doubling the number of them in each century, and making in each an upper and a lower division, which were practically as distinct as two centuries. There is no more wisdom in disturbing an old association for no real benefit, than in sparing it when it stands in the way of any substantial advantage.

Into these ten classes the boys are distributed in a three-fold division, according to their proficiency in classical literature, in arithmetic and mathematics, and in French. There is an exception made, however, in favour of the sixth form, which consists in all the three divisions of exactly the same individuals. All the rest of the boys are classed in each of the divisions without any reference to their rank in the other two: and thus it sometimes happens that a boy is in the fifth form in the mathematical division, while he is only in the third or fourth in the classical; or, on the other hand, that he is in a very low form in the French division, while he is in a high one in the classical and mathematical. During the two first lessons on Wednesday, the school is arranged according to its classes in French; and on Saturday, according to its classes in arithmetic and mathematics.

The masters also have different forms in the three different divisions. The masters of the higher classical forms may teach the lower forms in mathematics or French; and the masters of the higher forms in either of those two departments may have the care of the lower forms in the classical arrangement.

The general school hours throughout the week are as follows:—

Monday.—First lesson, seven to eight. Second lesson, quarter-past nine to eleven. Third and fourth lessons, quarter-past two to five.

Tuesday.—First and second lessons, as on Monday. Eleven to one, composition. Half-holiday.

Wednesday.—As on Monday.

Thursday.—As on Tuesday.

Friday.—As on Monday.

Saturday.—As on Tuesday and Thursday, except that there is no composition from eleven to one.

There are various other lessons at additional hours for different classes, but it is needless to trouble our readers with such minute details.

Each half year is divided into two equal periods, called language time and history time. The books read in these two periods vary in several instances,—the poets and orators being read principally during the language time, and history and geography being chiefly studied during the history time. This will be more clearly seen from the following Table (pp. 209—211) of the general work of the school for a whole year.

Every year, immediately before the Christmas holidays, there is a general examination of the whole school in the work that has been done during the preceding half-year. A class-paper is printed containing the names of those boys who distinguish themselves; and in order to gain a high place on this paper, it is usual for the boys to read some book in one or more of their several branches of study, in addition to what they have read with the masters in school. In this manner they have an opportunity of reading any work to which their peculiar taste may lead them, and of rendering it available to their distinction in school.

There are exercises in composition, in Greek and Latin prose, Greek and Latin verse, and English prose, as in other large classical schools. In the subjects given for original composition in the higher forms, there is a considerable variety. Historical descriptions of any remarkable events, geographical descriptions of countries, imaginary speeches and letters, supposed to be spoken or written on some great question or under some memorable circumstances; etymological accounts of words in different languages, and criticisms on different books, are found to offer an advantageous variety to the essays on moral subjects to which boys' prose composition has sometimes been confined.

Three exhibitioners are elected every year by the trustees of the school, on the report of two examiners appointed respectively by the vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge. These exhibitions are of the value of £60 a year, and may be held for seven years at any college at either university, provided the exhibitioner continues to reside at college so long; for they are vacated immediately by non-residence.

One scholar is also elected every year by the masters, after an examination held by themselves. The scholarship is of the value of £25 a year, and is confined to boys under fourteen and a half at the time of their election. It is tenable for six years, if the boy

	Classical Division			Mathematical Division	French Division
	Language Time	Scriptural Instruction, &c.	History Time		
First Form	Latin Grammar, and Latin Delectus.	Church Catechism and Abridgement of New Testament History.	Markham's England, Vol. I.	Tables, Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division, simple and compound Reduction.	Hamel's Exercises up to the Auxiliary Verb.
Second Form	Latin Grammar, and Latin Delectus. Eutropius.	St Luke. Genesis.	Markham's England, Vol. II.	The work done in the first form repeated; Rule of Three, Practice.	Hamel's Exercises, Auxiliary Verbs, regular Conjugations, and some of the irregular. Gaultier's Geography.
Third Form	Greek Grammar (Matthiæ Abridgement). Valpy's Greek Exercises. Valpy's Greek Delectus. Florilegium. Translations into Latin.	Exodus, Numbers, Judges, I. and II. Samuel, St Matthew.	Eutropius. Physical Geography, U.K.S.	Rule of Three. Practice. Vulgar Fractions. Interest.	Hamel's Exercises, first part continued, Irregular Verbs. Élisabeth, ou Les Exilés en Sibérie.

	Classical Division			Mathematical Division	French Division
	Language Time	Scriptural Instruction, &c.	History Time		
Lower Remove	Greek Grammar, and Valpy's Exercises. Rules of the Greek Iambics. Easy Parts of the Iambics of the Greek Tragedians. Virgil's Eclogues. Cicero de Senectute.	St Matthew in Greek Testament. Acts in the English Bible.	Parts of Justin. Parts of Xenophon's Anabasis. Markham's France to Philip of Valois.	Vulgar Fractions. Interest. Decimal Fractions. Square Root.	Hamel continued and repeated. Jussieu's Jardin des Plantes.
Fourth Form	Æschylus Prometh. Virgil, Æn. II. and III. Cicero de Amicitiâ.	Acts in the Greek Testament. St John in the English Bible. Old Testament History.	Part of Xenophon's Hellenics. Florus, from III. 21 to IV. 11. History of Greece, U.K.S. Markham's France from Philip of Valois. Detailed Geography of Italy and Germany.	Decimals, Involution, and Evolution, Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of Algebra. Binomial Theorem. Euclid, Book I., Propos. I. to XV.	Hamel's 2nd Part, chiefly Syntax of the Pronouns. La Fontaine's Fables.
Upper Remove	Sophocles' Philoct. Æschyl. Eumenid. Homer's Iliad, I. II. Virgil Æn., IV. V. Parts of Horace, Odes I. II. III. Parts of Cicero's Epistles.	St John in Greek Testament. Deuteronomy and Ep. of St Peter. Selections from the Psalms.	Parts of Arrian. Parts of Paterculus, Book II. Sir J. Macintosh's England.	Equation of Payments, Discounts, Simple Equations. Euclid, Book I. from XV. to end.	Translations from English into French. La Fontaine's Fables.

	Classical Division			Mathematical Division	French Division
	Language Time	Scriptural Instruction, &c.	History Time		
Lower Fifth	Æschyl. Sept. contra Thebas. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. Homer's Iliad, III. IV. Virgil's Æn., VI. VII. Extracts from Cicero's Epistles. Parts of Horace.	St John. Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Bible History, from 1 Kings to Nehemiah, inclusive.	Parts of Arrian. Herodotus III, 1, 38, 61, 67, 88, 116. Livy, Parts of II. and III., Hallam's Middle Ages, France, Spain, Greeks, and Saracens. Physical and Political Geography of all Europe.	Exchange, Alligation, Simple Equations, with two unknown quantities and Problems. Euclid, Book III.	Syntax and Idioms. A Play of Molière, to construe and then turn again from English into French.
Fifth Form	Æschyl. Agamemn. Homer's Iliad, V. VI. Odyssey, IX. Demosthenes' Leptines in Aphobum, I. Virgil's Æn., VIII. Parts of Horace. Cicero in Verrem.	Epistles to the Corinthians. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.	Parts of Herodotus and Thucydides. Parts of Livy. Hallam's Middle Ages. State of Society.	Quadratic Equations. Trigonometry. Euclid, to the end of Book VI.	Pensées de Pascal. Translations from English into French.
Sixth Form	Various parts of Virgil and Homer. Some one or more of the Greek Tragedies. One or more of the private Orations of Demosthenes. Cicero against Verres. Part of Aristotle's Ethics.	One of the Prophets in the Septuagint Version. Different Parts of the New Testament.	Parts of Thucydides and Arrian. Parts of Tacitus. Parts of Russell's Modern Europe.	Euclid, III.—VI. Simple and Quadratic Equations, Plane Trigonometry, Conic Sections.	Parts of Guizot's Histoire de la Révolut. de l'Angleterre, and Mignet's Histoire de la Révolut. Franç.

who holds it remains so long at Rugby. But as the funds for these scholarships arise only from the subscriptions of individuals, they are not to be considered as forming necessarily a permanent part of the school foundation.

In any statement of the business of a school, such as has been given above, there will be an unintentional exaggeration, unless the reader makes due allowance for the difference between the theory of any institution and its practical working. But on the other hand, a reader unacquainted with the real nature of a classical education, will be in danger of undervaluing it, when he sees that so large a portion of time at so important a period of human life is devoted to the study of a few ancient writers, whose works seem to have no direct bearing on the studies and duties of our own generation. For instance, although some provision is undoubtedly made at Rugby for acquiring a knowledge of modern history, yet the history of Greece and Rome is more studied than that of France and England; and Homer and Virgil are certainly much more attended to than Shakespeare and Milton. This appears to many persons a great absurdity; while others who are so far swayed by authority as to believe the system to be right, are yet unable to understand how it can be so. A journal of education may not be an unfit place for a few remarks on this subject.

It may freely be confessed that the first origin of classical education affords in itself no reasons for its being continued now. When Latin and Greek were almost the only written languages of civilized man, it is manifest that they must have furnished the subjects of all liberal education. The question therefore is wholly changed, since the growth of a complete literature in other languages; since France, and Italy, and Germany, and England, have each produced their philosophers, their poets and their historians, worthy to be placed on the same level with those of Greece and Rome.

But although there is not the *same* reason now which existed three or four centuries ago for the study of Greek and Roman literature, yet there is another no less substantial. Expel Greek and Latin from your schools, and you confine the views of the existing generation to themselves and their immediate predecessors: you will cut off so many centuries of the world's experience, and place us in the same state as if the human race had first come

into existence in the year 1500. For it is nothing to say that a few learned individuals might still study classical literature; the effect produced on the public mind would be no greater than that which has resulted from the labours of our Oriental scholars; it would not spread beyond themselves, and men in general after a few generations would know as little of Greece and Rome as they do actually of China and Hindostan. But such an ignorance would be incalculably more to be regretted. With the Asiatic mind we have no nearer connexion or sympathy than that which is derived from our common humanity. But the mind of the Greek and of the Roman is in all the essential points of its constitution our own; and not only so, but it is our own mind developed to an extraordinary degree of perfection. Wide as is the difference between us with respect to those physical instruments which minister to our uses or our pleasures; although the Greeks and Romans had no steam-engines, no printing-presses, no mariner's compass, no telescopes, no microscopes, no gunpowder; yet in our moral and political views, in those matters which most determine human character, there is a perfect resemblance in these respects. Aristotle, and Plato, and Thucydides, and Cicero, and Tacitus, are most untruly called ancient writers; they are virtually our own countrymen and contemporaries, but have the advantage which is enjoyed by intelligent travellers, that their observation has been exercised in a field out of the reach of common men; and that having thus seen in a manner with our eyes what we cannot see for ourselves, their conclusions are such as bear upon our own circumstances, while their information has all the charm of novelty, and all the value of a mass of new and pertinent facts, illustrative of the great science of the nature of civilized man.

Now when it is said, that men in manhood so often throw their Greek and Latin aside, and that this very fact shows the uselessness of their early studies, it is much more true to say that it shows how completely the literature of Greece and Rome would be forgotten, if our system of education did not keep up the knowledge of it. But it by no means shows that system to be useless, unless it followed that when a man laid aside his Greek and Latin books, he forgot also all that he had ever gained from them. This, however, is so far from being the case, that even where the results of a classical education are least tangible, and least appreciated even by

the individual himself, still the mind often retains much of the effect of its early studies in the general liberality of its tastes and comparative comprehensiveness of its views and notions.

All this supposes, indeed, that classical instruction should be sensibly conducted; it requires that a classical teacher should be fully acquainted with modern history and modern literature, no less than with those of Greece and Rome. What is, or perhaps what used to be, called a mere scholar, cannot possibly communicate to his pupils the main advantages of a classical education. The knowledge of the past is valuable, because without it our knowledge of the present and of the future must be scanty; but if the knowledge of the past be confined wholly to itself, if instead of being made to bear upon things around us, it be totally isolated from them, and so disguised by vagueness and misapprehension as to appear incapable of illustrating them, then indeed it becomes little better than laborious trifling, and they who declaim against it may be fully forgiven.

To select one instance of this perversion, what can be more absurd than the practice of what is called construing Greek and Latin, continued as it often is even with pupils of an advanced age? The study of Greek and Latin, considered as mere languages, is of importance mainly as it enables us to understand and employ well that language in which we commonly think, and speak, and write. It does this because Greek and Latin are specimens of language at once highly perfect and incapable of being understood without long and minute attention: the study of them, therefore, naturally involves that of the general principles of grammar; while their peculiar excellences illustrate the points which render language clear, and forcible, and beautiful. But our *application* of this general knowledge must naturally be to our own language; to show us what are its peculiarities, what its beauties, what its defects; to teach us by the patterns or the analogies offered by other languages, how the effect which we admire in them may be produced with a somewhat different instrument. Every lesson in Greek or Latin may and ought to be made a lesson in English; the translation of every sentence in Demosthenes or Tacitus is properly an exercise in extemporaneous English composition; a problem, how to express with equal brevity, clearness and force, in our own language, the thought which the original author has so

admirably expressed in his. But the system of construing, far from assisting, is positively injurious to our knowledge and use of English; it accustoms us to a tame and involved arrangement of our words, and to the substitution of foreign idioms in the place of such as are national; it obliges us to caricature every sentence that we render, by turning what is, in its original dress, beautiful and natural, into something which is neither Greek nor English, stiff, obscure, and flat, exemplifying all the faults incident to language, and excluding every excellence.

The exercise of translation, on the other hand, meaning, by translation, the expressing of *an entire sentence* of a foreign language by an entire sentence of our own, as opposed to the rendering separately into English either every separate word, or at most only *parts of the sentence*, whether larger or smaller, the exercise of translation is capable of furnishing improvement to students of every age, according to the measure of their abilities and knowledge. The late Dr Gabell, than whom in these matters there can be no higher authority, when he was the under-master of Winchester College, never allowed even the lowest forms to *construe;* they always were taught, according to his expression, to *read into English.* From this habit even the youngest boys derived several advantages; the meaning of the sentence was more clearly seen when it was read all at once in English, than when every clause or word of English was interrupted by the intermixture of patches of Latin; and any absurdity in the translation was more apparent. Again, there was the habit gained of constructing English sentences upon any given subject, readily and correctly. Thirdly, with respect to Latin itself, the practice was highly useful. By being accustomed to translate idiomatically, a boy, when turning his own thoughts into Latin, was enabled to render his own natural English into the appropriate expressions in Latin. Having been always accustomed, for instance, to translate "quum venisset" by the participle "having come," he naturally, when he wishes to translate "having come" into Latin, remembers what expression in Latin is equivalent to it. Whereas, if he has been taught to construe literally "when he had come," he never has occasion to use the English participle in his translations from Latin; and when, in his own Latin compositions, he wishes to express it, he is at a loss how to do it, and not unfrequently, from the construing notion

that a participle in one language must be a participle in another, renders it by the Latin participle passive; a fault which all who have had any experience in boys' compositions must have frequently noticed.

But as a boy advances in scholarship, he ascends from the idiomatic translation of particular expressions to a similar rendering of an entire sentence. He may be taught that the order of the words in the original is to be preserved as nearly as possible in the translation; and the problem is, how to effect this without violating the idiom of his own language. There are simple sentences, such as "Ardeam Rutuli habebant," in which nothing more is required than to change the Latin accusative into the English nominative, and the active verb into one passive or neuter: "Ardea belonged to the Rutulians." And in the same way the other objective cases, the genitive and the dative, when they occur at the beginning of a sentence, may be often translated by the nominative in English, making a corresponding change in the voice of the verb following. But in many instances also the nominative expresses so completely the principal subject of the sentence, that it is unnatural to put it into any other case than the nominative in the translation. "Omnium primum, avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit [Brutus] neminem Roma passuros regnare." It will not do here to translate "adegit" by a passive verb, and to make Brutus the ablative case, because Brutus is the principal subject of this and the sentences preceding and following it; the historian is engaged in relating his measures. To preserve, therefore, the order of the words, the clause "avidum novæ libertatis populum" must be translated as a subordinate sentence, by inserting a conjunction and verb. "First of all, while the people were set so keenly on their new liberty, to prevent the possibility of their ever being moved from it hereafter by the entreaties or bribes of the royal house, Brutus bound them by an oath, that they would never suffer any man to be king at Rome." Other passages are still more complicated, and require greater taste and command of language to express them properly; and such will often offer no uninteresting trial of skill, not to the pupil only, but even to his instructor.

Another point may be mentioned, in which the translation of the Greek and Roman writers is most useful in improving a boy's

knowledge of his own language. In the choice of his words, and in the style of his sentences, he should be taught to follow the analogy required by the age and character of the writer whom he is translating. For instance, in translating Homer, hardly any words should be employed except Saxon, and the oldest and simplest of those which are of French origin; and the language should consist of a series of simple propositions, connected with one another only by the most inartificial conjunctions. In translating the tragedians, the words should be principally Saxon, but mixed with many of French or foreign origin, like the language of Shakespeare, and the other dramatists of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The term "words of French origin" is used purposely, to denote that large portion of our language which, although of Latin derivation, came to us immediately from the French of our Norman conquerors, and thus became a part of the natural, spoken language of that mixed people, which grew out of the melting of the Saxon and Norman races into one another. But these are carefully to be distinguished from another class of words equally of Latin derivation, but which have been introduced by learned men at a much later period, directly from Latin books, and have never, properly speaking, formed any part of the genuine national language. These truly foreign words, which Johnson used so largely, are carefully to be shunned in the translation of poetry, as being unnatural, and associated only with the most unpoetical period of our literature, the middle of the eighteenth century.

So also, in translating the prose writers of Greece and Rome, Herodotus should be rendered in the style and language of the chroniclers; Thucydides in that of Bacon or Hooker, while Demosthenes, Cicero, Cæsar and Tacitus, require a style completely modern—the perfection of the English language such as we now speak and write it, varied only to suit the individual differences of the different writers, but in its range of words, and in its idioms, substantially the same.

Thus much has been said on the subject of translation, because the practice of construing has naturally tended to bring the exercise into disrepute: and in the contests for academical honours at both Universities less and less importance, we have heard, is constantly being attached to the power of *vivâ voce* translation. We do not wonder at any contempt that is shown towards *construing*, the

practice being a mere folly ; but it is of some consequence that the value of *translating* should be better understood, and the exercise more carefully attended to. It is a mere chimera to suppose, as many do, that what they call free translation is a convenient cover for inaccurate scholarship. It can only be so through the incompetence or carelessness of the teacher. If the force of every part of the sentence be not fully given, the translation is so far faulty ; but idiomatic translation, much more than literal, is an evidence that the translator does see the force of his original ; and it should be remembered that the very object of so translating is to preserve the spirit of an author, where it would be lost or weakened by translating literally ; but where a literal translation happens to be faithful to the spirit, there of course it should be adopted ; and any omission or misrepresentation of any part of the meaning of the original does not preserve its spirit, but as far as it goes, sacrifices it, and is not to be called "free translation," but rather "imperfect," "blundering," or in a word, "bad translation."

In the statement of the business of Rugby School which has been given above, one part of it will be found to consist of works of modern history. An undue importance is attached by some persons to this circumstance, and those who would care little to have their sons familiar with the history of the Peloponnesian war are delighted that they should study the Campaigns of Frederic the Great or of Napoleon. Information about modern events is more useful, they think, than that which relates to antiquity ; and such information they wish to be given to their children.

This favourite notion of filling boys with useful information is likely, we think, to be productive of some mischief. It is a caricature of the principles of inductive philosophy, which, while it taught the importance of a knowledge of facts, never imagined that this knowledge was of itself equivalent to wisdom. Now it is not so much our object to give boys "useful information," as to facilitate their gaining it hereafter for themselves, and to enable them to turn it to account when gained. The first is to be effected by supplying them on any subject with a skeleton which they may fill up hereafter. For instance, a real knowledge of history in after-life is highly desirable ; let us see how education can best facilitate the gaining of it. It should begin by impressing on a boy's mind the names of the greatest men of different periods, and by giving him

a notion of their order in point of time, and the part of the earth on which they lived. This is best done by a set of pictures bound up together in a volume, such, for instance, as those which illustrated Mrs Trimmer's little histories, and to which the writer of this article is glad to acknowledge his own early obligations. Nor could better service be rendered to the cause of historical instruction than by publishing a volume of prints of universal history, accompanied with a very short description of each. Correctness of costume in such prints, or good taste in the drawing, however desirable if they can be easily obtained, are of very subordinate importance: the great matter is that the print should be striking, and full enough to excite and to gratify curiosity. By these means a lasting association is obtained with the greatest names in history, and the most remarkable actions of their lives: while their chronological arrangement is learnt at the same time from the order of the pictures; a boy's memory being very apt to recollect the place which a favourite print holds in a volume, whether it comes towards the beginning, middle, or end, what picture comes before it, and what follows it. Such pictures should contain as much as possible the poetry of history: the most striking characters, and most heroic actions, whether of doing or of suffering; but they should not embarrass themselves with its philosophy, with the causes of revolutions, the progress of society, or the merits of great political questions. Their use is of another kind, to make some great name, and great action of every period, familiar to the mind; that so in taking up any more detailed history or biography (and education should never forget the importance of preparing a boy to derive benefit from his accidental reading) he may have some association with the subject of it, and may not feel himself to be on ground wholly unknown to him. He may thus be led to open volumes into which he would otherwise have never thought of looking: he need not read them through—indeed it is sad folly to require either man or boy to read through every book they look at, but he will see what is said about such and such persons or actions; and then he will learn by the way something about other persons and other actions; and will have his stock of associations increased, so as to render more and more information acceptable to him.

After this foundation, the object still being rather to create an appetite for knowledge than to satisfy it, it would be desirable to

furnish a boy with histories of one or two particular countries, Greece, Rome, and England, for instance, written at no great length, and these also written poetically, much more than philosophically, with much liveliness of style, and force of painting, so as to excite an interest about the persons and things spoken of. The absence of all instruction in politics or political economy, nay even an absolute erroneousness of judgment on such matters, provided always that it involves no wrong principle in morality, are comparatively of slight importance. Let the boy gain, if possible, a strong appetite for knowledge to begin with; it is a later part of education which should enable him to pursue it sensibly, and to make it, when obtained, wisdom.

But should his education, as is often the case, be cut short by circumstances, so that he never receives its finishing lessons, will he not feel the want of more direct information and instruction in its earlier stages? The answer is, that everything has its proper season, and if summer be cut out of the year, it is vain to suppose that the work of summer can be forestalled in spring. Undoubtedly, much is lost by this abridgement of the term of education, and it is well to insist strongly upon the evil, as it might in many instances be easily avoided. But if it is unavoidable, the evil consequences arising from it cannot be prevented. Fulness of knowledge and sagacity of judgment are fruits not to be looked for in early youth; and he who endeavours to force them does but interfere with the natural growth of the plant and prematurely exhaust its vigour.

In the common course of things, however, where a young person's education is not interrupted, the later process is one of exceeding importance and interest. Supposing a boy to possess that outline of general history which his prints and his abridgements will have given him, with his associations, so far as they go, strong and lively, and his desire of increased knowledge keen, the next thing to be done is to set him to read some first-rate historian, whose mind was formed in, and bears the stamp of, some period of advanced civilization, analogous to that in which we now live. In other words, he should read Thucydides or Tacitus, or any writer equal to them, if such can be found, belonging to the third period of full civilization, that of modern Europe since the middle ages. The particular subject of the history is of little moment, so long as it be

taken neither from the barbarian, nor from the romantic, but from the philosophical or civilized stage of human society ; and so long as the writer be a man of commanding mind, who has fully imbibed the influences of his age, yet without bearing its exclusive impress. And the study of such a work under an intelligent teacher becomes indeed the key of knowledge and of wisdom : first it affords an example of good historical evidence, and hence the pupil may be taught to notice from time to time the various criteria of a credible narrative, and by the rule of contraries to observe what are the indications of a testimony questionable, suspicious, or worthless. Undue scepticism may be repressed by showing how generally truth has been attained when it has been honestly and judiciously sought ; while credulity may be checked by pointing out, on the other hand, how manifold are the errors into which those are betrayed whose intellect or whose principles have been found wanting. Now too the time is come when the pupil may be introduced to that high philosophy which unfolds "the causes of things." The history with which he is engaged presents a view of society in its most advanced state, when the human mind is highly developed, and the various crises which affect the growth of the political fabric are all overpast. Let him be taught to analyze the subject thus presented to him ; to trace back institutions, civil and religious, to their origin ; to explore the elements of the national character, as now exhibited in maturity, in the vicissitudes of the nation's fortune, and the moral and physical qualities of its race ; to observe how the morals and the mind of the people have been subject to a succession of influences, some accidental, others regular ; to see and remember what critical seasons of improvement have been neglected, what besetting evils have been wantonly aggravated, by wickedness or folly. In short, the pupil may be furnished as it were with certain formulæ, which shall enable him to read all history beneficially ; which shall teach him what to look for in it, how to judge of it, and how to apply it.

Education will thus fulfil its great business, as far as regards the intellect, to inspire it with a desire of knowledge, and to furnish it with power to obtain and to profit by what it seeks for. And a man thus educated, even though he knows no history in detail but that which is called ancient, will be far better fitted to enter on public life than he who could tell the circumstances and the date

of every battle and every debate throughout the last century; whose information in the common sense of the term, about modern history, might be twenty times more minute. The fault of systems of classical education in some instances has been, not that they did not teach modern history, but that they did not prepare and dispose their pupils to acquaint themselves with it afterwards; not that they did not attempt to raise an impossible superstructure, but that they did not prepare the ground for the foundation, and put the materials within reach of the builder.

That impatience, which is one of the diseases of the age, is in great danger of possessing the public mind on the subject of education; an unhealthy restlessness may succeed to lethargy. Men are not contented with sowing the seed unless they can also reap the fruit; forgetting how often it is the law of our condition, that "one soweth and another reapeth." It is no wisdom to make boys prodigies of information; but it is our wisdom and our duty to cultivate their faculties each in its season, first the memory and imagination, and then the judgment; to furnish them with the means, and to excite the desire, of improving themselves, and to wait with confidence for God's blessing on the result.

ON THE DISCIPLINE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1].

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "JOURNAL OF EDUCATION."

SIR,—As the sentiments contained in this Article will differ materially from those which have appeared from time to time in your Journal, it appears to me most proper to address them to you as coming from a correspondent; and therefore, as in no way pledging you to agree with them, you will not perhaps object to receive my views on a very important subject connected with education, although they may not agree with your own.

Liberal principles and popular principles are by no means necessarily the same: and it is of importance to be aware of the

[1] [This Letter, written in 1835, was occasioned by an article against "Flogging and Fagging, as practised at Winchester School," which appeared in the Quarterly Journal of Education.]

difference between them. Popular principles are opposed simply to restraint—liberal principles to unjust restraint. Popular principles sympathize with all who are subject to authority, and regard with suspicion all punishments—liberal principles sympathize, on the other hand, with authority, whenever the evil tendencies of human nature are more likely to be shown in disregarding it than in abusing it. Popular principles seem to have but one object—the deliverance of the many from the control of the few. Liberal principles, while generally favourable to this same object, yet pursue it as a means, not as an end; and therefore they support the subjection of the many to the few under certain circumstances, when the great end, which they steadily keep in view, is more likely to be promoted by subjection than by independence. For the great end of liberal principles is indeed "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," if we understand that the happiness of man consists more in his intellectual well-doing than in his physical; and yet more in his moral and religious excellence than in his intellectual.

It must be allowed, however, that the fault of popular principles, as distinguished from liberal, has been greatly provoked by the long-continued prevalence of principles of authority which are no less illiberal. Power has been so constantly perverted that it has come to be generally suspected. Liberty has been so constantly unjustly restrained, that it has been thought impossible that it should ever be indulged too freely. Popular feeling is not quick in observing the change of times and circumstances: it is with difficulty brought to act against a long-standing evil; but, being once set in motion, it is apt to overshoot its mark, and to continue to cry out against an evil long after it has disappeared, and the opposite evil is become most to be dreaded. Something of this excessive recoil of feeling may be observed, I think, in the continued cry against the severity of the penal code, as distinguished from its other defects; and the same disposition is shown in the popular clamour against military flogging, and in the complaints which are often made against the existing system of discipline in our schools.

The points which are attacked in this system are two—flogging and fagging; and we will first consider the question of flogging. We have nothing to do with arguments against the excessive or indiscriminate use of such a punishment: it is but idle to attack what no one defends, and what has at present hardly any real

existence. The notion of a schoolmaster being a cruel tyrant, ruling only by terror of the rod, is about as real as the no less terrific image of Bluebeard. The fault of the old system of flogging at Winchester, alluded to in your last Number, was not its cruelty, but its inefficiency; the punishment was so frequent and so slight as to inspire very little either of terror or of shame. In other schools, eighty or a hundred years ago, there may have been a system of cruel severity, but scarcely, I should imagine, within the memory of anyone now alive. But the argument against *all* corporal punishment applies undoubtedly to an existing state of things; and this argument, therefore, I shall proceed to consider.

"Corporal punishment," it is said, "is degrading." I well know of what feeling this is the expression; it originates in that proud notion of personal independence which is neither reasonable nor Christian, but essentially barbarian. It visited Europe in former times with all the curses of the age of chivalry, and is threatening us now with those of Jacobinism. For so it is, that the evils of ultra-aristocracy and ultra-popular principles spring precisely from the same source—namely, from selfish pride—from an idolatry of personal honour and dignity in the aristocratical form of the disease —of personal independence in its modern and popular form. It is simply impatience of inferiority and submission—a feeling which must be more frequently wrong or right, in proportion to the relative situation and worthiness of him who entertains it, but which cannot be always or generally right except in beings infinitely more perfect than man. Impatience of inferiority felt by a child towards his parents, or by a pupil towards his instructors, is merely wrong because it is at variance with the truth: there exists a real inferiority in the relation, and it is an error, a fault, a corruption of nature, not to acknowledge it.

Punishment, then, inflicted by a parent or a master for the purposes of correction, is in no true sense of the word degrading; nor is it the more degrading for being corporal. To say that corporal punishment is an appeal to personal fear is a mere abuse of terms. In this sense all bodily pain or inconvenience is an appeal to personal fear; and a man should be ashamed to take any pains to avoid the toothache or the gout. Pain is an evil; and the fear of pain, like all other natural feelings, is of a mixed character, sometimes useful and becoming, sometimes wrong and mischievous. I

believe that we should not do well to extirpate any of these feelings, but to regulate and check them by cherishing and strengthening such as are purely good. To destroy the fear of pain altogether, even if practicable, would be but a doubtful good, until the better elements of our nature were so perfected as wholly to supersede its use. Perfect love of good is the only thing which can profitably cast out all fear. In the meanwhile, what is the course of true wisdom? Not to make a boy insensible to bodily pain, but to make him dread moral evil more; so that fear will do its proper and appointed work, without so going beyond it as to become cowardice. It is cowardice to fear pain or danger more than neglect of duty, or than the commission of evil; but it is useful to fear them, when they are but the accompaniments or the consequences of folly and of faults.

It is very true that the fear of punishment generally (for surely it makes no difference whether it be the fear of the personal pain of flogging, or of the personal inconvenience of what have been proposed as its substitutes, confinement, and a reduced allowance of food) is not the highest motive of action; and therefore, the course actually followed in education is most agreeable to nature and reason, that the fear of punishment should be appealed to less and less as the moral principle becomes stronger with advancing age. If any one really supposes that young men in the higher forms of public schools are governed by fear, and not by moral motives, that the appeal is not habitually made to the highest and noblest principles and feelings of their nature, he is too little aware of the actual state of those institutions to be properly qualified to speak or write about them.

With regard to the highest forms, indeed, it is well known that corporal punishment is as totally out of the question in the practice of our schools as it is at the universities; and I believe that there could nowhere be found a set of young men amongst whom punishment of any kind was less frequent, or by whom it was less required. The real point to be considered is merely, whether corporal punishment is in all cases unfit to be inflicted on boys under fifteen, or on those who, being older in years, are not proportionably advanced in understanding or in character, who must be ranked in the lower part of the school, and who are little alive to the feeling of self-respect, and little capable of being influenced by moral motives.

Now, with regard to young boys, it appears to me positively mischievous to accustom them to consider themselves insulted or degraded by personal correction. The fruits of such a system were well shown in an incident which occurred in Paris during the three days of the revolution of 1830. A boy of twelve years old, who had been forward in insulting the soldiers, was noticed by one of the officers; and though the action was then raging, the officer, considering the age of the boy, merely struck him with the flat part of his sword, as the fit chastisement for boyish impertinence. But the boy had been taught to consider his person sacred, and that a blow was a deadly insult; he therefore followed the officer, and having watched his opportunity, took deliberate aim at him with a pistol and murdered him. This was the true spirit of the savage, exactly like that of Callum Beg in Waverley, who, when a "decent gentleman" was going to chastise him with his cane for throwing a quoit at his shins, instantly drew a pistol to vindicate the dignity of his shoulders. We laugh at such a trait in the work of the great novelist, because, according to our notions, the absurdity of Callum Beg's resentment is even more striking than its atrocity. But I doubt whether to the French readers of Waverley it has appeared either laughable or disgusting; at least the similar action of the real Callum in the streets of Paris was noticed at the time as something entitled to our admiration. And yet what can be more mischievous than thus to anticipate in boyhood those feelings which even in manhood are of a most questionable nature, but which, at an earlier period, are wholly and clearly evil? At an age when it is almost impossible to find a true, manly sense of the degradation of guilt or faults, where is the wisdom of encouraging a fantastic sense of the degradation of personal correction? What can be more false, or more adverse to the simplicity, sobriety, and humbleness of mind which are the best ornaments of youth, and offer the best promise of a noble manhood? There is an essential inferiority in a boy as compared with a man, which makes an assumption of equality on his part at once ridiculous and wrong; and where there is no equality, the exercise of superiority implied in personal chastisement cannot in itself be an insult or a degradation.

The total abandonment, then, of corporal punishment for the faults of young boys appears to me not only uncalled for, but

absolutely to be deprecated. It is of course most desirable that all punishment should be superseded by the force of moral motives; and up to a certain point this is practicable. All endeavours so to dispense with flogging are the wisdom and the duty of a schoolmaster; and by these means the amount of corporal punishment inflicted may be, and in fact has been, in more than one instance, reduced to something very inconsiderable. But it is one thing to get rid of punishment by lessening the amount of faults, and another to say, that even if the faults are committed, the punishment ought not to be inflicted. Now it is folly to expect that faults will never occur; and it is very essential towards impressing on a boy's mind the natural imperfectness and subordination of his condition, that his faults and the state of his character being different from what they are in after-life, so the nature of his punishment should be different also, lest by any means he should unite the pride and self-importance of manhood with a boy's moral carelessness and low notions of moral responsibility.

The beau-ideal of school discipline with regard to young boys would appear to be this—that whilst corporal punishment was retained on principle as fitly answering to, and marking the naturally inferior state of, boyhood, morally and intellectually, and therefore as conveying no peculiar degradation to persons in such a state, we should cherish and encourage to the utmost all attempts made by the several boys as individuals to escape from the natural punishment of their age by rising above its naturally low tone of principle. While we told them that, as being boys, they were not degraded by being punished as boys, we should tell them also, that in proportion as we saw them trying to anticipate their age morally, so we should delight to anticipate it also in our treatment of them personally—that every approach to the steadiness of principle shown in manhood should be considered as giving a claim to the respectability of manhood—that we should be delighted to forget the inferiority of their age, as they laboured to lessen their moral and intellectual inferiority. This would be a discipline truly generous and wise, in one word, truly Christian—making an increase of dignity the certain consequence of increased virtuous effort, but giving no countenance to that barbarian pride which claims the treatment of a freeman and an equal, while it cherishes all the carelessness, the folly, and the low and selfish principle of a slave.

With regard to older boys, indeed, who yet have not attained that rank in the school which exempts them from corporal punishment, the question is one of greater difficulty. In this case the obvious objections to such a punishment are serious; and the truth is, that if a boy above fifteen is of such a character as to require flogging, the essentially trifling nature of school correction is inadequate to the offence. But in fact boys, after a certain age, who cannot keep their proper rank in a school, ought not to be retained at it; and if they do stay, the question becomes only a choice of evils. For the standard of attainment at a large school being necessarily adapted for no more than the average rate of capacity, a boy who, after fifteen, continues to fall below it, is either intellectually incapable of deriving benefit from the system of the place, or morally indisposed to do so, and in either case he ought to be removed from it. And as the growth of the body is often exceedingly vigorous where that of the mind is slow, such boys are at once apt for many kinds of evil, and hard to be governed by moral motives, while they have outgrown the fear of school correction. These are fit subjects for private tuition, where the moral and domestic influences may be exercised upon them more constantly and personally than is compatible with the numbers of a large school. Meanwhile such boys, in fact, often continue to be kept at school by their parents, who would regard it as an inconvenience to be required to withdraw them. Now it is superfluous to say, that in these cases corporal punishment should be avoided wherever it is possible; and perhaps it would be best, if for such grave offences as would fitly call for it in younger boys, older boys whose rank in the school renders them equally subject to it, were at once to be punished by expulsion. As it is, the long-continued use of personal correction as a proper school punishment renders it possible to offer the alternative of flogging to an older boy, without subjecting him to any excessive degradation, and his submission to it marks appropriately the greatness and disgraceful character of his offence, while it establishes, at the same time, the important principle, that as long as a boy remains at school, the respectability and immunities of manhood must be earned by manly conduct and a manly sense of duty.

It seems to me, then, that the complaints commonly brought against our system of school discipline are wrong either in their

principle or as to the truth of the fact. The complaint against *all* corporal punishment, as degrading and improper, goes, I think, upon a false and mischievous principle: the complaint against governing boys by fear and mere authority, without any appeal to their moral feelings, is perfectly just in the abstract, but perfectly inapplicable to the actual state of schools in England.

I now proceed to make a few remarks upon another part of the system of public schools, which is even less understood than the subject already considered,—I mean the power of fagging.

Now by "the power of fagging," I understand a power given by the supreme authorities of a school to the boys of the highest class or classes in it, to be exercised by them over the lower boys for the sake of securing the advantages of regular government amongst the boys themselves, and avoiding the evils of anarchy,—in other words, of the lawless tyranny of physical strength. This is the simple statement of the nature and ends of public school fagging—an institution which, like all other government, has been often abused, and requires to be carefully watched, but which is as indispensable to a multitude of boys living together, as government, in like circumstances, is indispensable to a multitude of men.

I have said that fagging is necessary for a multitude of boys when *living together;* for this will show how the system may be required in the public schools of England, and yet be wholly needless in those of Scotland. The great Scotch schools are day-schools —those of England are boarding-schools. Now the difference between these two systems is enormous. In the Scotch schools the boys *live* at their own homes, and are under the government of their own relations; they only meet at school for a certain definite object during a certain portion of the day. But in England the boys, for nearly nine months of the year, live with one another in a distinct society; their school life occupies the whole of their existence; at their studies and at their amusements, by day and by night, they are members of one and the same society, and in closer local neighbourhood with one another than is the case with the ordinary society of grown men. At all those times, then, when Scotch boys are living at home with their respective families, English boys are living together amongst themselves alone; and for this their habitual living they require a government. It is idle to say that the masters form, or can form, this government; it is

impossible to have a sufficient number of masters for the purpose; for, in order to obtain the advantages of home government, the boys should be as much divided as they are at their respective homes. There should be no greater number of schoolfellows living under one master than of brothers commonly living under one parent; nay, the number should be less, inasmuch as there is wanting that bond of natural affection which so greatly facilitates domestic government and gives it its peculiar virtue. Even a father with thirty sons, all below the age of manhood, and above childhood, would find it no easy matter to govern them effectually—how much less can a master govern thirty boys, with no natural bond to attach them either to him or to one another? He may indeed superintend their government of one another; he may govern them through their own governors; but to govern them immediately, and at the same time effectively, is, I believe, impossible. And hence, if you have a large *boarding*-school, you cannot have it adequately governed without a system of fagging.

Now, a government among the boys themselves being necessary, the actual constitution of public schools places it in the best possible hands. Those to whom the power is committed, are not simply the strongest boys, nor the oldest, nor yet the cleverest; they are those who have risen to the highest form in the school—that is to say, they will be probably at once the oldest, and the strongest, and the cleverest; and further, if the school be well ordered, they will be the most respectable in application and general character—those who have made the best use of the opportunities which the school affords, and are most capable of entering into its objects. In short, they constitute a real aristocracy, a government of the most worthy, their rank itself being an argument of their deserving. And their business is to keep order amongst the boys; to put a stop to improprieties of conduct, especially to prevent that oppression and ill-usage of the weaker boys by the stronger which is so often ignorantly confounded with a system of fagging. For all these purposes a general authority over the rest of the school is given them; and in some schools they have the power, like the masters, of enforcing this authority by impositions, that is, by setting tasks to be written out or learnt by heart for any misbehaviour. And this authority is exercised over all those boys who

are legally subject to it, that is, over all below a certain place in the school, whatever be their age or physical strength; so that many boys who, if there were no regular fagging, would by mere physical force be exercising power over their schoolfellows, although from their idleness, ignorance, and low principle they might be most unfit to do so, are now not only hindered from tyrannizing over others, but are themselves subject to authority—a most wholesome example, and one particularly needed at school, that mere physical strength, even amongst boys, is not to enjoy an ascendancy. Meanwhile this governing part of the school, thus invested with great responsibility, treated by the masters with great confidence and consideration, and being constantly in direct communication with the head-master, and receiving their instruction almost exclusively from him, learn to feel a corresponding self-respect in the best sense of the term; they look upon themselves as answerable for the character of the school, and by the natural effect of their position acquire a manliness of mind and habits of conduct infinitely superior, generally speaking, to those of young men of the same age who have not enjoyed the same advantages.

What becomes then of those terrible stories of cruelty which inspire so many parents with horror at the very name of fagging; or what shall we say of that very representation of fagging at Winchester which appeared in the last number of your Journal? It is confessed, indeed, in a subsequent page of that Number that your correspondent's representation is not applicable to the present state of Winchester. Would it not then have been fairer to have inserted in the running title of the article, "Flogging and Fagging at Winchester," the words "as formerly practised"? But, indeed, even as describing a past state of things, there is surely some confusion in the statement. It is important to distinguish such acts of oppression as belong properly to the system of fagging, from such as arise merely from superior physical force, and consequently exist as much, I believe a thousand times more, in those schools where there is no legal fagging. For instance, your correspondent complains of the tyranny practised at Winchester at bed-time, "tossing in the blanket, tying toes, bolstering, &c." These, indeed, are most odious practices, but what have they to do with fagging? I have known them to exist at private schools, where there was no fagging, to a degree of intolerable cruelty. In college, at Winchester, where

there were two or three præfects in every chamber, I scarcely remember them to have been practised at all during the period of which I can speak from my own experience. And this is natural; for the boys who delight in this petty tyranny are very rarely to be found amongst the oldest in a school, and still less amongst those who have raised themselves to the highest rank in it: they are either middle-aged boys, from fourteen to sixteen, or such older boys as never distinguish themselves for any good, and who, never rising high in the school, are by a system of fagging, and by that only, restrained from abusing their size and strength in tyranny. Other abuses which your correspondent mentions, such as toasting, lighting fires, &c., arise so far from a system of fagging, that this system, when ill-regulated, allows a certain well-defined class of boys to exact services which otherwise would be exacted merely by the strongest. But I said, what every one must be aware of, that the government of boys, like every other government, requires to be watched, or it will surely be guilty of abuses. Those menial offices which were exacted from the juniors at Winchester were only required of them because the attendance of servants was so exceedingly insufficient, and the accommodations of the boys in many particulars so greatly neglected. If you do not provide servants to clean the boys' shoes, to supply them with water of a morning, or to wait on them at their meals, undoubtedly the more powerful among them, whether the power be natural or artificial, will get these things done for them by the weaker; but supply the proper attendance, and all this ceases immediately. There will remain many miscellaneous services, such as watching for balls at cricket or fives, carrying messages, &c., which servants undoubtedly cannot be expected always to perform, and which yet belong to that general authority vested in the boys of the highest form. They belong to that general authority, and are therefore now claimed as rightfully due; but if there were no such authority, they would be claimed by the stronger from the weaker. For I assume it as a certain fact, that if you have two or three hundred boys living with one another as a distinct society, there will be some to command, as in all other societies, and others to obey: the only difference is, that the present system first of all puts the power into the best hands, and secondly, by recognizing it as legal, is far better able to limit its exercise and to prevent its

abuses, than it could be if the whole were a mere irregular dominion of the stronger over the weaker.

There is another thing, which to those who are acquainted with schools will seem of no small importance. Leave a number of boys together as legally equal, and the irregular tyranny exercised under these circumstances by every stronger boy over every weaker one, has so far the sanction of the public opinion of the school, that any individual sufferer would be utterly afraid to complain of his ill-usage to the master. But give one class a legal superiority over the rest, and an abuse of power on their part is no longer received with sympathy; and the boy who were to complain of it to the master, instead of being hated as informer, would rather be regarded by the mass of his companions as an asserter of their common liberties. Now to those who consider the difficulty of getting boys to complain of ill-usage where public opinion condemns the complaining, it will appear an immense security against oppression, that it may be denounced without incurring general odium; and such I fear is the Jacobinical spirit of human nature, that this can never be the case unless the oppression proceed from one invested with *legal* authority.

For my own part, however, I am not one of those who think it an evil that younger or less manly boys should be subject legally to those more advanced in age and in character. Such subjection is not degrading, for it is rendered not to an arbitrary, but to a real superiority; it is shown to a power exercised in the main not for its own good, but for that of the society as a whole. Neither do I regard it as oppressive; for the degree and kind of obedience enforced under a well-regulated system of fagging is beneficial to those who pay it. A strict system is not therefore a cruel one; and the discipline to which boys are thus subjected, and the quickness, handiness, thoughtfulness, and punctuality, which they learn from some of the services required of them, are no despicable part of education. Many a man who went from Winchester to serve in the Peninsula in the course of the last war must have found his school experience and habits no bad preparation for the activity and hardships of a campaign; not only in the mere power of endurance, but in the helpfulness and independence which his training as a junior had given him. When your correspondent talks of the servility encouraged by the system of fagging, and

gravely imputes to this cause what he calls the characteristic servility of English gentlemen, the cause appears to me as wrongly assigned as I think the supposed result imaginary.

The real servility which exists in England, whether amongst men or boys, is not an excessive deference for legal authority, but a surrender of individual judgment and conscience to the tyranny of public opinion. This tyranny exists in schools to a fatal degree; but it is not exercised chiefly by those who have the power of fagging, and far less in virtue of that power; on the contrary, the boys of the highest form are the only corrective of it, and so far as they contribute to it, it is not owing to the power which distinguishes them from the other boys, but to that imperfection of age and judgment which, to a certain degree, they share in common with them. Great, indeed, is this evil; but it is one arising almost inevitably from the circumstances of a *boarding*-school, namely, that it is a society wholly composed of persons whose state, morally and intellectually, is, by reason of their age, exceedingly imperfect.

It is this which renders it so difficult to make a large school a place of Christian education. For while, on the one hand, the boys stand to their masters in the relation of pupils to a teacher, they form, on the other hand, a complete society amongst themselves; and the individual boys, while influenced by him in the one relation, are unhappily in the other more influenced by that whole of which they are members, and which affects them in a much larger portion of their lives. And how can this influence be of a Christian character, when the perfect impression of Christianity cannot possibly be received by any society which is not in the highest state of advancement? by all others it is either taken incorrectly, or repelled altogether: they can but exhibit that mixture of superstition and profaneness which characterized the semi-barbarous societies of the middle ages; a mixture as unfavourable to the development of man's highest excellence, as Christianity purely imbibed is favourable to it, and indispensable.

The stress of this remark, however, applies to a *society* in a low moral state, and not to an individual. Boys in their own families, as the members of the natural and wholesome society of their father's household, may receive its lessons, and catch its spirit, and learn at a very early age to estimate right and wrong truly. But a society formed exclusively of boys, that is, of elements each separately

weak and imperfect, becomes more than an aggregate of their several defects: the amount of evil in the mass is more than the sum of the evil in the individuals; it is aggravated in its character, while the amount of good, on the contrary, is less in the mass than in the individuals, and its effect greatly weakened.

Now this being the case, and the very fact of a *boarding*-school involving the existence of such an unfavourable state of society, he who wishes really to improve public education would do well to direct his attention to this point; and to consider how there can be infused into a society of boys such elements as, without being too dissimilar to coalesce thoroughly with the rest, shall yet be so superior as to raise the character of the whole. It would be absurd to say that any school has as yet fully solved this problem. I am convinced, however, that in the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys, such as it exists in our great public schools, there is to be found the best means of answering it. This relation requires in many respects to be improved in its character; some of its features should be softened, others elevated: but here, and here only, is the engine which can effect the end desired; and if *boarding*-schools are to be cleared of their most besetting faults and raised in all that is excellent, it must be done by a judicious improvement; but most assuredly not by the abolition of the system of authorized fagging.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
A WYKEHAMIST.

January 22nd, 1835.

PART V.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS

RELATING TO ARNOLD'S INFLUENCE AS A TEACHER, AND TO PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION BEFORE AND AFTER HIS TIME.

As this edition of Arnold is intended chiefly for students of education, it may be of advantage to indicate sources from which further information may be gained.

SECTION A.

WORKS THROWING LIGHT UPON THE STATE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF THE CENTURY.

1. M. H. BLOXAM: *Rugby, the School and Neighbourhood.* Edited by the Rev. W. H. Payne-Smith, Assistant-Master in Rugby School. (London, Whittaker & Co., 1889.)

Chiefly of local and antiquarian interest, but the author succeeds in showing the importance of Rugby School before the Arnoldian epoch.

2. *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales.* By NICHOLAS CARLISLE. (2 Vols., London, 1818.)

This voluminous work is the source from which all later writers on the English Endowed Schools have relied. Carlisle was an antiquarian of great reputation in his day and did his work with accuracy and completeness. He anticipated the method of our modern Commission, sending a letter of inquiry with twenty

questions to all English schools. He received 1400 answers, accompanied by printed papers, and his book is based upon these.

He does not attempt to criticise systems of education: and indeed confesses his ignorance of that side of his subject.

The preface contains useful references to earlier writers.

The account of Rugby (pp. 662—686, Vol. II.) may be usefully consulted, as giving a sketch of the school, as it existed just before Arnold became head-master.

3. *Annals of my Early Life*, 1806—46. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of S. Andrews and Fellow of Winchester College. (Longmans, 1891.)

One of the valuable and interesting volumes for the history of public school education. Probably Wordsworth is still most widely known as one of the earliest great cricketers at Harrow; he himself recollects with even greater zest his achievements in the reform of Greek grammar teaching, and in the promotion of religious life at Winchester.

Two of Arnold's sons went to Winchester while Wordsworth was there as Vice-Principal; and he publishes the letters sent by Arnold to him with reference to them.

Still more important for the student of Arnold are pp. 275—278, in which he comments upon the famous letter (pp. 119, 120 above) written by Moberly to Stanley, ascribing the religious reform in the public schools almost solely to Arnold's influence:

"The truth is, there was a general awakening, which, in many instances, as with us at Winchester, *partook decidedly of a Church character*, such as Arnold's teaching and example, however excellent in their way, had little or no tendency to create."

4. *Life of Samuel Butler*, Head-master of Shrewsbury 1798 to 1836, and subsequently Bishop of Lichfield. By his grandson, SAMUEL BUTLER. (John Murray, 1896.)

Is full of interest for the history of education up to 1830.

5. *Recollections of George Butler.* By his widow, JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER. (Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1890.)

Is not so valuable, but may be consulted. George Butler was educated at Harrow under his father, who was Head-master of

Harrow at the beginning of the century. He himself was Vice-Principal of Cheltenham and then Principal of Liverpool College.

Other recollections of Harrow at the same period can be found in papers by the more celebrated younger brother, H. M. Butler, the present Master of Trinity, Cambridge. (See *Our Great Public Schools*, pp. 77—80, etc.)

6. *An Essay on Education;* in which are particularly considered the merits and defects of the discipline and instruction in our academies. By the Rev. W. BARROW (Bampton Lecturer, 1799), late Master of the Academy, Soho Square, London, in 2 vols. (F. & C. Rivington, 1804.)

This is by no means a great book, but it exhibits very clearly the current ideas on secondary education at the beginning of this century. Boys in the upper classes of society who were not sent to public schools were often placed in 'academies,' and some of these institutions no doubt did excellent work.

It would take us too far afield to seek for evidence on the state of education at this period from miscellaneous literature. Stanley[1] refers to two writers, Wilberforce and Bowdler (Bowdler's *Remains*, Vol. II.[2]), who dealt with the low state of religious education, and many references might be added on other topics: as an example, Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book*, chapter XXXI., describing a visit to Templemoyle. Thackeray takes occasion to denounce Eton and Harrow, and to recommend the proprietary plan for establishing new and more efficient secondary schools.

It is worth observing, however, that higher education, up to 1830, secured very little attention from public men. Johnson had declared, in the previous century (chapter XXVII. in Boswell), that "Education is as well known, and has long been as well known, as ever it can be," and, in England, no one of reputation disputed this verdict. The contemporary revival of education in Germany passed unnoticed in England; Pestalozzi was welcomed by a few enthusiasts as an influence that might aid the education of the poor, but no one recognized his work as a corner-stone in the foundations of educational science.

7. ZIMMERMANN. See below, p. 245.

[1] See p. 45 above. [2] See p. 128 above.

SECTION B.

(*a*) ARNOLD'S OWN WRITINGS, AND (*b*) LITERATURE RELATING TO HIS INFLUENCE IN EDUCATION.

The list of Arnold's published works is here reprinted from the appendix to Stanley's Life.

(*a*)

Theological Works.

I. Six volumes of Sermons[1]:—

1st. Sermons preached at Laleham, 1829.

2nd. Sermons preached in the School Chapel at Rugby. With Five Sermons on the Social State of England, and an Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture, 1832. [These last are omitted in a smaller edition of this volume, entitled "Sermons preached in Rugby Chapel," 1832, which contains two Sermons not in the larger edition.]

3rd. Selection of Sermons, 1832–34, with a Preface on the Study of Theology, and two Appendices on Atheism, and on the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession.

4th. Selection of Sermons, 1835–1841, entitled "Christian Life, its Course, its Helps, and its Hindrances;" with a Preface on the Oxford School of Theology, and Notes on Tradition, Rationalism, and Inspiration.

5th. Sermons preached 1841–1842 (posthumous), entitled "Christian Life, its Hopes, its Fears, and its Close."

6th. Sermons mostly on the Interpretation of Scripture (posthumous).

II. Two Sermons on Prophecy, with Notes, 1839.

III. Fragments on Church and State (posthumous).

[1] The booksellers tell us that these volumes were widely read up to about 1880. The whole of the six volumes were re-edited, with a few verbal alterations by Mrs W. E. Forster (one of Arnold's daughters) in 1876 (Longmans, Green & Co., 5*s*. per volume).

Historical and Philological Works.

I. Edition of Thucydides, 1st edition, 1830, 33, 35. 2nd edition, 1840, 41, 42.

The first volume contains a Preface on the previous editions of Thucydides (omitted in the second edition), and Appendices:

1. On the Social Progress of States. 2. On the Spartan Constitution. 3. (omitted in the 2nd edition) On the Constitution of the Athenian Tribes.

The second contains a collation of a Venetian MS., and Appendices on the Date of the Pythian Games, and on the Topography of Megara, Corinth, Sphacteria, and Amphipolis.

The third contains a Preface on the General Importance of Greek History to Political Science, and an Appendix on the Topography of Syracuse.

[Of these Essays, the First Appendix to Vol. I. and the Preface to Vol. III. are now published in the "Miscellaneous Works."]

II. History of Rome, in 3 volumes, 1838, 40, 42, which was broken off by his death at the end of the Second Punic War.

III. History of the later Roman Commonwealth, from the end of the Second Punic War to the Death of Julius Cæsar, and the Reign of Augustus: with a Life of Trajan, written 1821–7, and republished from the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. 2 volumes.

IV. "Introductory Lectures on Modern History[1]." 1842.

Miscellaneous Works.

(Mostly republished in one vol. octavo[1].)

I. "The Christian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic Claims." 1828.

[1] Republished in octavo form by Longmans, and still advertised in Catalogue, price *7s. 6d.*

II. Englishman's Register—Articles in, signed A. 1831.

III. Tract on the Cholera, addressed to the inhabitants of Rugby. 1831.

IV. Letters to the Sheffield Courant, on the Social Distress of the Lower Orders. 1831, 32. [See pp. 198–205 above.]

V. Preface on "Poetry of Common Life," to a collection of poetry under that name. Published by J. C. Platt, Sheffield. 1832.

VI. "Principles of Church Reform," with "Postscript." 1833.

VII. Letters to the Hertford Reformer, on Chartism, and on Church and State. 1839, 40, 41.

VIII. Lecture before Mechanics' Institute, at Rugby, on the Divisions of Knowledge. 1839.

IX. Paper on the revival of the order of Deacons. 1841.

In addition to these were various articles in periodical journals.

1. On Southey's Wat Tyler.
2. On Cunningham's De Rancè. } British Critic, 1819–20.

3. On Niebuhr's "History of Rome." In Quarterly Review, vol. xxxii. 1825.

4. On "Letters of an Episcopalian." Ed. Review, vol. xliv. 1826.

5. On "Dr Hampden." Edinb. Review, vol. lxiii. 1836.

6. On "Rugby School," and on "the Discipline of Public Schools, by a Wykehamist," in the Quarterly Journal of Education, vols. vii. ix. 1834-35. [See pp. 206–235 above.]

(*b*)

1. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* By A. P. STANLEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford (afterwards Dean of Westminster).

The first seven editions were published by B. Fellowes, Ludgate Street; it has been many times republished (in two volumes) by John Murray.

A cheap reprint is issued in the Minerva Library (Ward, Lock & Co.).

[Part of Chapter II. and the whole of Chapter III. are reprinted in the present volume. Students who desire to pursue the study of Arnold beyond the limits thought necessary here will find much additional matter of interest in Stanley, e.g. among the letters, No. 96 to the Head Master of Harrow; and in the Appendices A, B and D: comparison of Scotch and English Education.]

2. *Tom Brown's School Days.* (Macmillan & Co.)

Needs no description. The novel should be read side by side with the life. With the exception of Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude*, *Tom Brown* is the only work of fiction which has exercised a world-wide influence on the development of education.

3. E. T. WORBOISE: *Life of Dr Arnold.* (Isbister, 1885.)

4. R. E. SELFE: *Dr Arnold of Rugby.* (Cassell & Co., 1889.)

Brief popular biographies based on Stanley.

5. *Recollections of Rugby.* By an old Rugbeian (R. H. Hutton). (London, Hamilton and Adams, 1848.)

A small book of inferior merit: only worth noticing as the product of one of Arnold's pupils. It deals with the history of the school, with its sports and games.

6. *Memories of Arnold and Rugby, Sixty Years ago* (anonymous). By a member of the school in 1835—37.

Five articles in *The Parents' Review*, Nov. 1895 to Mar. 1896. These sketches are of great interest, for they help to correct the tendency to undue laudation of Arnold. The writer points out how difficult it seemed for the great Headmaster to understand young boys.

7. *The Dictionary of National Biography:* Vol. II., art. "Arnold."

Contains an appreciative sketch by Theodore Walrond (an old Rugbeian).

8. *Life of Bishop Cotton.* (London, Longmans, 1871.)

May be compared with the sketch of 'the young Master' in *Tom Brown's School Days* (Part II., Chap. VIII.). These are examples of the influence of Arnold on his best pupils and assistant masters. See especially pp. 11—14.

9. *Rugby Chapel, November*, 1857.

A short poem by Arnold's illustrious son (*Selected Poems by Matthew Arnold*, Macmillan & Co., 1878), is reprinted at the close of Vol. II. in the recent editions of Stanley's Life.

Matthew Arnold's prose writings on educational topics are not expressly concerned with English public schools, but the father's principles are constantly illustrated in the views expressed by the son. In addition to the reports written by him as an Inspector for the Education Department, the following should be noted:

Schools and Universities on the Continent; Higher Schools and Universities in Germany; A French Eton (all published by Macmillan between 1864 and 1882).

10. *The Edinburgh Review* (vol. 81) and *The Quarterly Review* (vol. 74) for 1845.

Contain articles on Stanley's Life which are of value. The article in *The Quarterly* was contributed by an old Rugbeian, the Rev. W. C. Lake (until recently Dean of Durham). Dr Lake has kindly added a reference to two articles on Rugby and Arnold contributed by him to *Good Words* (Octr. and Decr. 1895). With these should be read

11. MARTINEAU: *Essays and Addresses*, Vol. I. (Longmans, 1890.)

An essay on Arnold written in 1846 is here republished. Valuable as affording criticism of the Public School system by a distinguished writer who had received his own education in a different environment.

12. In *Quick's Educational Reformers.* (Longmans, 1890; first edition, 1868.)

Arnold is only incidentally referred to; indeed Quick expressly excluded him (p. 219) from the ranks of reformers. In doing so he was probably, as a Harrow master, following the judgment of many public school men (outside the Rugby circle) who felt, with Charles Wordsworth (see above), that Stanley's exaltation of Arnold implied a disparagement of efforts in a similar direction made by his contemporaries, especially by Moberly at Winchester, and Lee at King Edward's, Birmingham. Be that as it may, it cannot be questioned that the reforming ideas associated with the name of Arnold have exercised a wider influence upon education than those of Mulcaster or Milton, who figure prominently in the pages of Quick.

13. *Educational Theories.* By OSCAR BROWNING. (Kegan Paul's Educational Library.)

A chapter on 'The English Public School,' but this is very slight in treatment and the scope of his little book scarcely includes those branches in the theory of education with which Arnold's name is chiefly associated.

Mr Browning has treated Arnold and the Public School more critically in

14. *Aspects of Education: a study on the History of Pedagogy.* pp. 172—6. (New York: publ. by the Industrial Education Association from articles in *Science*, 1887, 8.)

Among German authorities may be cited:

15. K. V. STOY: *Zwei Tage in englischen Gymnasien.* (Leipzig, 1860.)

A slight contribution by a teacher of great reputation. Stoy visited Rugby soon after Arnold's death, and the experiences gained in his brief visit aided him in developing his plans for conducting boys' boarding schools in Germany. The schools founded by him still flourish at Jena, but it seems difficult to transplant Public School principles to a foreign soil.

16. J. WITTIG: *Thomas Arnold*, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des englischen Erziehungswesens. (Hannover, Carl Meyer, 1884.)

A careful sketch both of his life and his position in English education.

17. SCHMIDT, K. A.: *Encyclopaedie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtwesens.* (Gotha, 1876.) Vol. I. pp. 224–6.

The article on Arnold is excellent. (In Vol. III. a comprehensive article on "Grossbritannien u. Irland" gives some account of the Public Schools.)

18. *England's "Öffentliche Schulen" von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart.* Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte von A. ZIMMERMANN, S.J. (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1892.)

A book of considerable merit, but spoiled by the author's prejudice against the Protestant religion; and it is clear that he has only seen English schools from the outside. The chapter on Arnold and Thring, "Zwei ideale Erzieher," is well worth reading.

More valuable are the earlier chapters commenting on the condition of the Public Schools in the 17th century and up to 1830; his views are no doubt partial, but the materials at his disposal are scanty indeed.

SECTION C.

WORKS DEALING WITH PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

I.

1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into "certain colleges and schools,"* commonly called the Public Schools Commission. (4 Vols. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1864.)

These bulky volumes are indispensable for the study of this period. Since the field of inquiry was limited to nine schools, the Commissioners were able to enter into many matters of detail, which would have necessarily been disregarded if their range had been extended. On Rugby we have some 80 pages of report and recommendation in Vol. I., followed by an ample variety of evidence in the subsequent volumes. The sequel to this Report was the Public Schools Act of 1868.

2. *Report of the Commissioners on Endowed Schools.* (2 Vols. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1866, 7.)

Completed the inquiry into secondary education which the Report of 1864 had begun.

Hereupon followed The Endowed Schools Act of 1869, with its amendments in 1873, 74.

3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education.* (9 Vols. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895.)

This may be usefully consulted, as resuming the story broken off in 1864 and 1867 by the earlier Commission. Several witnesses treat of the older Public Schools and of new schools of similar rank, which have been established since the days of Arnold; in Vol. I. the Commissioners give an historical sketch, followed by an account of the present condition of Secondary Education.

4. (*a*) WIESE: *Deutsche Briefe über englische Erziehung.* Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. Part I., 1852; Part II., 1877.

(*b*) *German Letters on English Education:* translation of above.

Part I. (London, Longmans, 1854), translated by W. D. ARNOLD (a son of Dr Arnold of Rugby, afterwards Director of Public Instruction in the Punjaub).

Part II. (London, W. Collins & Co., 1877), translated by Dr LEONARD SCHMITZ.

These little volumes continue to serve as the best guide to the student of English education during the present century. They deal in comprehensive fashion with every side of education, but Wiese is especially sympathetic and discriminating in his judgments on the Public Schools. Many German teachers, since he set the example, have made the tour of English Public Schools, and most have written something on their return, but there is nothing which approaches Wiese's work.

5. FINDLAY: *Zur Entwickelung des höheren Schulwesens Englands.* (Dissertation, Trübner, Leipzig, 1893.)

Is partly a commentary on Wiese, reviewing the chief features of Public School education and the modifications that these have undergone since Wiese's *Deutsche Briefe* appeared. The *Litteraturnachweis* is the basis of the references supplied in this Bibliography.

6. RAYDT: *Ein gesunder Geist in einem gesunden Körper.* (C. Meyer, Hannover, 1889.)

This is one of the most extensive reports of the kind above referred to. The author sets no bounds to his enthusiasm for Public School life: his book attracted great attention in Germany at the time of its publication, and no doubt did much to advance the cause of school games in German secondary schools. But Raydt will not bear comparison with Wiese.

7. DE COUBERTIN: *L'Education en Angleterre: Collèges et Universités.* (Paris, Hachette, 1888.)

The first half of this volume is devoted to the Public Schools. Arnold's work is appreciatively treated.

8. SHARPLESS: *English Education.* (Vol. XXII. of the International Education Series. New York, Appleton; London, Edward Arnold, 1892.)

Chapter V. "On the great Public Schools" may be compared with de Coubertin. President Sharpless is a keen observer, but is cautious where he attempts to criticise rather than describe.

The above works will serve as samples: slighter contributions of a similar character are frequently published in foreign countries by visitors to English Public Schools. We can only attach a high pedagogic value to them, when the author, as in the case of Wiese, brings to his task an extensive experience of school life and a thorough grasp of educational principles.

II.

Still more voluminous are the descriptive and historical accounts of all our large schools, written usually by old boys. Some of these are intended solely to satisfy local interest, others take the form of contributions to magazine literature.

Of the first kind, we may cite among the best:

(1) LYTE, H. C. MAXWELL: *A History of Eton College,* 1440—1884, with many illustrations. (Macmillans, 1889.)

There are at least half a dozen other volumes, descriptive and reminiscent, on Eton, and similar books, full of personal and antiquarian interest, but of slight educational value, may be read on Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Charterhouse, etc. A number of these are mentioned in the Bibliography appended to Fletcher's *Cyclopaedia of Education* (Sonnenschein & Co., 1889); others in Stanley Hall's *Bibliography of Education* (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1886).

Some of the more recent Public Schools have also produced books of a similar character. Of these

(2) *The History of Marlborough College during fifty years.* (John Murray, 1893.)

Describes the earliest of the new Public Schools: its success and distinction is traced in this volume directly to the methods which Cotton had learned from Arnold.

(3) *The Clifton College Register.* (Rivingtons, 1887.)

Is also of more than local interest. The historical preface (pp. 1—120) by the then Headmaster, J. M. Wilson (now Archdeacon of Manchester) gives a clear impression of the way in which Public School methods have been transferred to new foundations, and of the inevitable changes which these methods undergo when subject to such a transfer. When the history of English education comes to be written, the results of the Arnoldian reform will be traced not only in a few great schools, but in a multitude of less distinguished schools, which have either been established or regenerated by men trained under the influence of the ideas which Arnold and his contemporaries disseminated. This movement affected first of all the fortunes of the new Public Schools, such as Clifton, Wellington, Cheltenham, Marlborough: more recently it has extended to schools of a lower grade, of which Cranleigh may be cited as the most conspicuous example.

Of the second kind, the best is

(4) *The Great Public Schools.* (Edward Arnold, 1892.)

Some of the chapters appeared first in the *English Illustrated Magazine.* The articles on Harrow 1829—89 by the Master of Trinity and on Rugby by the late Judge Hughes and H. Lee-Warner possess a more permanent value than the rest. The accounts of the new Public Schools established during the last half century are worthy of note, as exhibiting the rapid spread of public school ideas after Arnold's death (see pp. 121—3 on Cheltenham, 203—7 on Clifton, 259, 60 on Marlborough).

(5) *School Sermons.*

The example set by Arnold (see p. 99 above) of addressing the whole school society on Sunday afternoon, is now followed by most Headmasters in Public Schools, and has produced volumes of

school sermons, some of which take high rank not only in the field of theological literature, but as contributions to the theory of education. Those of Vaughan (Harrow), Temple (Rugby), Cotton (Marlborough), Percival (Clifton), may be cited as examples.

III.

Finally, attention should be directed to the writings of Public School masters who have sought to reform the methods of these schools, or to deal critically with certain features.

(α) THRING: *Education and School.* (Macmillan, 1864.)

This is, unquestionably, the most important work which has issued from the Public Schools since the appearance of Stanley's Life of Arnold. And as a commentary upon it should be read

(β) *A Memory of Edward Thring.* By J. H. SKRINE, Warden of Glenalmond. (Macmillan, 1890.)

Mr Skrine adds a list of Thring's works: the most important for our present purpose are

Theory and Practice of Teaching. (Cambridge University Press, 1885.)

Especially the last chapter on "The Dead Hand";

Addresses. (Fisher Unwin, 1890); and

Sermons preached at Uppingham. (2 vols. Deighton and Bell, Cambridge.)

(γ) *Essays on a Liberal Education.* Edited by F. W. FARRAR. (Macmillan, 1868, now out of print.)

This volume does not deal with those aspects of education which are prominent in Arnold's work, but, apart from its intrinsic importance, it shows how the best teachers in the Public Schools, then as now, were alive to the necessity of progress. The first essay, on "The History of Classical Education," remains a standard authority on its subject, and the contributions from Harrow, Eton, and Rugby are sufficient evidence that the theory of education was not wholly despised in those great schools.

(δ) *Thirteen Essays on Education.* (Percival & Co., 1891.)

A more recent volume of the same kind.

(ε) COTTERILL: *Suggested Reforms in Public Schools.* (Blackwood, 1885.)

Deals directly and most forcibly with the social influences of the present day which tend to lower the educational ideal of the Public School. Compare article on "The Prospective Character of School Training" by Mr Cotterill, in Thirteen Essays (above).

(ζ) CLEMENT DUKES (M.D., etc., Physician to Rugby School): *Health at School,* considered in its mental, moral, and physical aspects. (3rd edition, greatly enlarged from an article in Cassell's *Book of Health;* Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894.)

While dealing mainly with hygiene and physical education, Dr Dukes wanders freely into other departments of the teacher's duty and criticises very freely what he regards as faults in the Public School system; the book is indeed written almost wholly from the standpoint of Public School experience. It is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Arnold.

(η) A. SIDGWICK: "On Stimulus," in a small volume of *Essays on Education* (Cambridge University Press, 1883); *On Discipline* (Rivingtons, 1887).

Are widely read, and give a very effective description of the relation of masters and boys in the practice of the best Public Schools.

(θ) R. B. POOLE: *On Form-Management,* in another volume similar to the above (Cambridge University Press, 1883, 1885).

Can be read in the same connection.

Other lectures and papers dealing with Public School education have been printed from time to time in the *Journal of Education* and elsewhere. One of the most difficult topics to handle is the

controversy as to the respective advantages of the day and boarding school, which came somewhat prominently before the public in 1884; vide articles by Mr Lee-Warner of Rugby, and others in *Macmillan's Magazine* (May, 1884 and later), the *Contemporary Review*, September, 1884. In the *Journal of Education*, March, 1885, Mr Tait of Clifton contributed towards the solution of this question by giving an account of the Town House Tutor system in vogue at Clifton (compare *Clifton College Register*, pp. 69, 70).

In the absence of more elaborate expositions of educational practice, it becomes more important to collect any contributions which have a permanent value from the mass of material which appears month by month in professional magazines. As an example, see the *Journal of Education*, Dec. 1885, "Not punished, and cured," an Essay read before a Society of Public School Masters; and the same, Feb. 1884, "Games," a 'U. U.' Essay by E. E. B.

While the editor trusts that he has not overlooked any contribution of importance, he cannot hope to have been wholly successful, and will feel indebted to readers who can make this list more complete. Books and articles which at a first glance appear to be insignificant often prove hereafter to be of the greatest value for the purposes of research.

ANALYTICAL INDEX:

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF SUBJECTS.

THE following analysis is intended not only to serve the usual purpose of an index, but to indicate to the reader the ground in the theory of Education which is covered by the contents in this volume. It will be observed that while the main current of Arnold's thought is derived from two or three sources of interest which tinge the whole stream, his mind wandered freely over a wider field, so that references find a place on topics which are not commonly associated with his name or influence. If, on some of these questions, his views may be regarded as commonplace or as out of relation to present-day educational problems, they still possess a value in the eyes of the student of education, who seeks to interpret the present by the past.

I have therefore analysed the book according to a recognized division of topics in educational science, I. The Definition and the End of Education, II. The Administration of Education, III. The Conduct of Education[1]. As a sequel thereto, we have references which may be grouped under IV. The History of Education in England. Each of these sections is further divided under sub-headings which are indicated by Italic type. The reader will observe that in Section III. no contribution is offered by Arnold upon those

[1] Under the term Conduct (or Practice) of Education we include everything that is embraced in the relation of the teacher with his children, when the authorities that administer Education have appointed him to his task. Arnold speaks in this connection of the 'business' of Education (53, 201, 218).

important topics which we group under the name of Physical Education and of Natural Science Teaching. This omission may serve to remind us of the comparative novelty of many features in Public School life which we now regard as indispensable:—the occupations of the Workshop, the Laboratory, the Gymnasium, the Swimming Bath. Fifty years have sufficed to lay complex burdens upon the school, which, in the simpler conditions of life and of society prevailing in the first half of this century, would have appeared intolerable. Nevertheless, although this volume appears to neglect the care of the body, no one needs to be reminded that the most widely beneficent form of physical exercise—the game of football—takes its rise in part from the fame of Arnold's Headmastership.

I. THE DEFINITION AND END OF EDUCATION.

Definitions.

The simplest notion of Education, 132
Distinction between Instruction and Education, 133, 189, 190
Between general education and 'special' education, 202, 203
Between useful and useless education, 15
Education a dynamical process, 33
Education to equip for citizenship, 203

Education and Religion.

Conception of Christian Education, 137, 169
Protest against anti-religious Education, 136 (compare 34, 35, 38)

II. THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION.

Conceived as a branch of Christian Politics, 25, and the school as a Christian Institution, 169
The place of the clergy in the control of Education, 39, due to the popular conception of the end of Education, 200

Duty of the Government.

The Crown should recognize special merit in Public Schools, 56
Control of secondary schools needed, 201

Local Boards should not control teachers, 40
Government should register teachers, 199

Kinds of Schools.

(1) Home and private tuition—best for certain boys, 228
Moral danger in sending boys away from home, 124, 130
(2) Private Schools—their advantages and disadvantages, 32, 201
(3) Public Schools—advantages of great places of education, 137

Teachers.

Private tuition, 12, 13
The lay-teacher unrecognized in English society, 39
The teacher should be interested in national affairs outside of his school pursuits, 33, 46, 47
His responsibility shared by the parent, the clergy, and the nation at large, 188—190
Should be a clergyman, 39, 200, but not a parish clergyman, 42
The University not a favourable environment for him, 41
Should know some Mathematics, 42
Sketch of qualifications, 52, 53, 18, 41, 181
Sympathetic, but sympathies under restraint in Arnold's case, 109, 111
Headmaster: in relation to Governing Body, 29, 50
as Chaplain, 100, must not proselytize, 32, 40, case of Unitarian pupil, 31
in relation to pupils: withdrawal and expulsion, 13, 14, 29, 67, 68, 228, distinction between withdrawal and expulsion, 69, 70
Assistant Masters: relation to Headmaster, 50—52
School Council 50
should have no other 'business,' 51
each master should be a house tutor, 51

Parents.

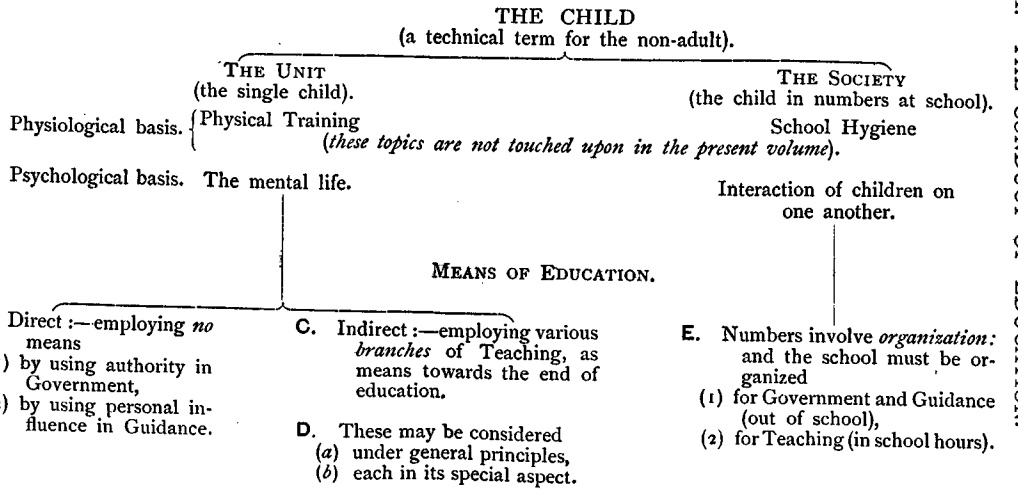
Have no 'right' to retain their sons at a school against its interests, 71, 228

Examinations.

Defence of *viva voce*, 36, 37

Note. The scantiness of references in this section does not indicate indifference on Arnold's part to problems of public education, but it may remind us how very novel are most of the administrative issues upon which the attention of the teaching profession of to-day is absorbed.

NOTE. As the plan of the following analysis is not self-explanatory, I offer a scheme which may serve as a key to it. The plan follows in the main the distinctions made by Herbart and his followers.


THE CHILD
(a technical term for the non-adult).
THE UNIT
(the single child).
THE SOCIETY
(the child in numbers at school).
Physiological basis.
Physical Training
School Hygiene
(these topics are not touched upon in the present volume).
A. Psychological basis. The mental life.
Interaction of children on one another.
MEANS OF EDUCATION.
B. Direct :—employing no means
(1) by using authority in Government,
(2) by using personal influence in Guidance.
C. Indirect :—employing various branches of Teaching, as means towards the end of education.
D. These may be considered
(a) under general principles,
(b) each in its special aspect.
E. Numbers involve organization: and the school must be organized
(1) for Government and Guidance (out of school),
(2) for Teaching (in school hours).

A. The Psychological Basis.

Arnold always observing boys' ways and studying character, 106
Distinction between the individual boy and the society of a school, 234
Intellect: Children cannot be expected to understand all they learn, 81
Distinction between knowledge and wisdom, 74, 151, 152
Encouragement to 'dull' boys, 75, 157
Contempt for 'mere cleverness,' 74, 158
Emotion: Nature of sympathy, 181
Gaiety in youth and manhood, 153, 4
Excitement from novel reading, creating exhaustion, 41, 159—61
False pride induced in children, 226
Fear of bodily pain, 225, delight in cruelty (bullying), 178
Will: The union of moral and intellectual excellence, described as 'moral thoughtfulness,' 59, 73, 74, 153, 156—9
Habit of obedience, contrasted with 'independence,' 141, 178
contrasted with servility, 234
Habit of falsehood, 177, 178
Habit of idleness, passive, 158, active, 178
Character, moulded by obedience to social rules, 143, 144

Stages of development.

Three periods distinguished, childhood, boyhood, manhood, 145—150
Childhood, distinctive features, 146
Boyhood: Inferior state, 128, 227, 234
Analogous to early development of the human race[1], 30, 57
To be compared with a 'pre-Christian' civilization[1], 234
A dangerous period, 130, 147—9
And should be shortened, 58, 148—155
But *not* in the intellectual sphere, 151
Three classes of boys in the Public School, 171—3, 232
(1) Little boys, Arnold's manner with them, 113
(2) Middle school boys 172, treated more severely, 113
Incapable of æsthetic appreciation of poetry, 87
(3) The Sixth, treated as passing from boyhood to manhood, 65, 66
Anticipate the common term of manhood, 171

[1] It is interesting to compare this with the now familiar Herbartian doctrine of Culture-Epochs and with Froebel's application of the same theory.

Psychology of a school society.

Comparison with God's temple, 169, comparison with the greater world outside, 126
Social influence necessary to the formation of character, 184, 185
The suggestive, unconscious power of example, from the young upon each other, always observable—in Elementary as well as Public Schools, 191
Danger of a society adopting the tone of its worst members, 125
A society may grow very corrupt before it is broken up, 175
Six characteristic vices of boarding school society, 175—9
Companionship, the most subtle of these, 62, 179—185
contrasted with friendship, 184
contains an element of sympathy, 181
Force of tradition, for good or evil, in a large school society, 137, 138
Boys, like men, are cowards and swim with the stream, 112
But yet a single individual, boy or master, can often alter the current, 193, 194
Tyranny of public opinion in a school society, 234

B. GOVERNMENT AND GUIDANCE: THE TEACHER EXERCISING *DIRECT* INFLUENCE.

Intimacy of relation between teacher and pupil, in contrast to that of clergyman and parishioner, 192
Teacher and pupil must not be at enmity, 131

Government.

The nature of Government in general, 143
The end of Government: To lead the pupil from 'the law' to 'the gospel,' 130—132, 227
The law made for sinners, 162—7
To lead the pupil toward a permanent habit of obedience, 166, 167
Contrast between slavery and the government of a child, 131, 132, 181, 182
a jail and a classroom, 72, 143
Government should be associated with Guidance, 165
A mistake to appeal to reason when expecting obedience: boyhood the period in which to learn the art of obedience, 165

Punishment: Contrast between older and younger boys, 60
Retention of corporal punishment for the latter only, 61, 225
Defence of flogging, 224, not antagonistic to 'liberal' principles, 223
Removal the only remedy in some cases, 14, 228, regarded not so much as a punishment, but as a plan for placing a difficult boy in a more suitable environment, 67, 72
Rewards: prizes and scholarships as incentives, 73

Guidance.

Healthiness of tone, 16, 17
Boys to be treated as companions, 184
as gentlemen and reasonable beings, 59
Formal instruction in moral doctrine not required for the ends of guidance, 196
Arnold trained himself to take a personal interest in individual boys, 106, and in their pursuits, 113
Arnold as House Tutor, 107, 108
Self-restraint in reproof and exhortation to boys, 109, 110
His increasing personal influence in later years at Rugby, 112, 113—6
Treatment of falsehood, 59

C. TEACHING: GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The end of teaching: Derived from moral considerations, 72, 73, 203
Distinction between general and 'special' ends, 203
The former more likely to be neglected, 203, 204

Method.

Practice and application of knowledge liable to be neglected, 133, 136
Each pupil must receive individual attention, 81
Encouraging of individual tastes, 78
The teacher may frankly confess his ignorance, 83
Sketch of Arnold as a teacher: stimulus to self-activity; teaching by questioning; training in expression and in clear thinking, 81—84
Sermon D, 139—144, affords a good example of exposition, with Presentation, Comparison, Formulation and Application precisely parallel to the Herbartian plan of the Formal Steps.

D. TEACHING: AIM AND METHOD FOR THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF TEACHING.

Religious Instruction.

Is associated with all other branches of instruction, 133, 134
Reverence and reality combined, 91
Scheme of Bible study, 90, 91
To study the Bible or the Catechism not synonymous with religious education, 133 (compare section I. above)
Arnold's personal religious views as affecting his teaching, 92, 93
The influence of the Chapel, 94—99, not to serve as an engine of discipline, 143
The school sermon: its effect on the boys at Rugby, 99—105
General discourse ineffective, 123
Older and younger boys cannot appreciate the same style of address, 164, 180
The preacher must not ignore the apperceiving ideas of his hearers, 122, 123, 164

Literature.

The Classics: the basis of intellectual teaching, 76
Detailed defence of them, 212—222
The Content more valuable than the Form, 78
Construing condemned; free translation approved, 86, 214—8
Modern languages added to the curriculum, 78, but subordinate, 212 and not with success, 79, 80
Periodical fiction injurious, 41, 159—61
The art of composition, 82, 83, 86, 208

History.

Deals supremely with character and conduct, 136
Not taught for the sake of imparting information, 218, 221
Comparative method, 89, 90
Use of geography as an aid to history, 90
Modern History read at Rugby, 79, 218
Plan for study from childhood upwards, 218—220
History should lead to philosophy, 221

Mathematics.

Should be encouraged at school, 43, 78

Reading.

Should be learned at home, 202

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL SOCIETY.

Organization of Teaching.

Arnold's method of supervision, 80
Nomenclature of classes in the Public Schools, 206
Separate classification introduced for Mathematics and for French, 207
Time Table in 1834, 208—212
Reports, 51

Organization of corporate life.

The problem stated:—from the point of view of the boarding school, 235
Boys form necessarily an independent society, 56, 229—31, with its own peculiar form of government, 230, 231, which must be legalized, 233
Dangers involved in this independence, 57
'Sixth' power, 63, 64, 72, 229. Anxious duty imposed upon such young men, 66
The Head Master in relation to the Sixth, 64, 66
Defence of fagging, 229—231
Assembly of the entire school, 59, 60
Corporate interest maintained with 'old boys,' 115—118

IV. HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

Personal.

Arnold: Biographical notice, 1—3
At Oxford, 2—4, later years at Oxford, 5—8
Marriage and settlement at Laleham, 5
Life and influence as a private tutor, 10—13, 16—18
His character, 16, 120
First volume of sermons, 25—27
Elected to Rugby School, 27, 28

An active reformer during the whole period, 48
Did not aim to found a new system in contrast to other Public Schools, 118, 119
Organization of Rugby in 1834, 206—212
Last sermon, 192—6
Balston, H., a former pupil, Letter to, 41
Burlington, Earl of, Letters to, 36—39
Cornish, Reid G., Letter to, 41
Coleridge, Mr Justice, Letter to, 33
Empson, W., Letter to, 34
Hawkins, Dr, Prediction as to Arnold's achievement at Rugby, 28
Letter to, from Arnold, 29
Hill, Rev. Herbert, Letter to, 42
Moberley, Dr, Letter to Stanley on Arnold at Rugby, 119, 120
Pasley, Sir Thomas Sabine, Letters to, 32, 111
Price, Mr Bonamy (a pupil at Laleham and master at Rugby), sketches Arnold's influence over young men, 16—18
Tucker, Rev. John, Letter to, 30
Wooll, Dr, Arnold's predecessor at Rugby, 27, 30

General.

Public Schools: allegations of overpressure, 73
Winchester in Arnold's day, 224, 231—4
Character of Public Schools about 1830, 128, 129
Low standard tolerated, 44, 45, 131; illustrations, 15
Middle Schools: use of term 'secondary' by Arnold, 200
Neglect of Education by farmers, 204
Should be aided by local Universities, 200
Education of the middle classes a necessary sequel to the Reform Bill, 198 (Compare Quick, *Educational Reformers*, p. 447)
Primary Education in little demand in 1840, 186
Founding of the University of London: Arnold's resignation, 34, 38, 39
Early days of novel reading, 41, 159

ADDENDUM TO BIBLIOGRAPHY.

To Section A.

English Schools at the Reformation, 1546—8. By A. F. LEACH, M.A. (Constable & Co., London, 1897.)

Deals mainly with a much earlier period, but its criticisms have a bearing on the development of secondary education right up to the present century.

To Section B.

Thomas and Matthew Arnold, and their influence on English Education. By Sir J. G. FITCH.

Is announced by Heinemann (London) as a volume of the Great Educator Series. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee that the work will offer not only valuable criticism upon Thomas Arnold, but will tell the story of English education during the last two generations. It is a story in which the author himself has played a by no means insignificant part.

To Section C (I.).

Die Organisation des höheren Unterrichts in Grossbritannien. Von Dr KARL BREUL, University Lecturer in German, Cambridge. (München, Oscar Beck, 1897.)

This is a separate reprint of 150 pages out of a voluminous Handbuch der Erziehungs und Unterrichtslehre für höhere Schulen. It is an able compendium of information covering the entire field of secondary education, and gives special prominence to Public Schools. We have nothing like it at present in English.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

00020632

Digitized with financial assistance from
Ms.Vaidehi Thakar
on 06 November, 2019